# M. P. KHAREGHAT MEMORIAL VOLUME

I

A SYMFOSIUM ON INDO-IRANIAN AND ALLIED SUBJECTS

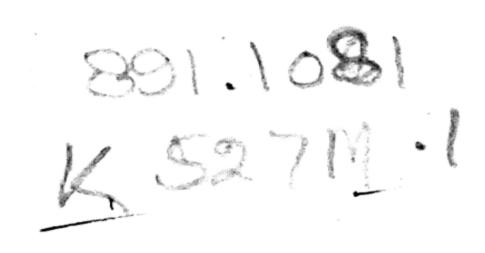




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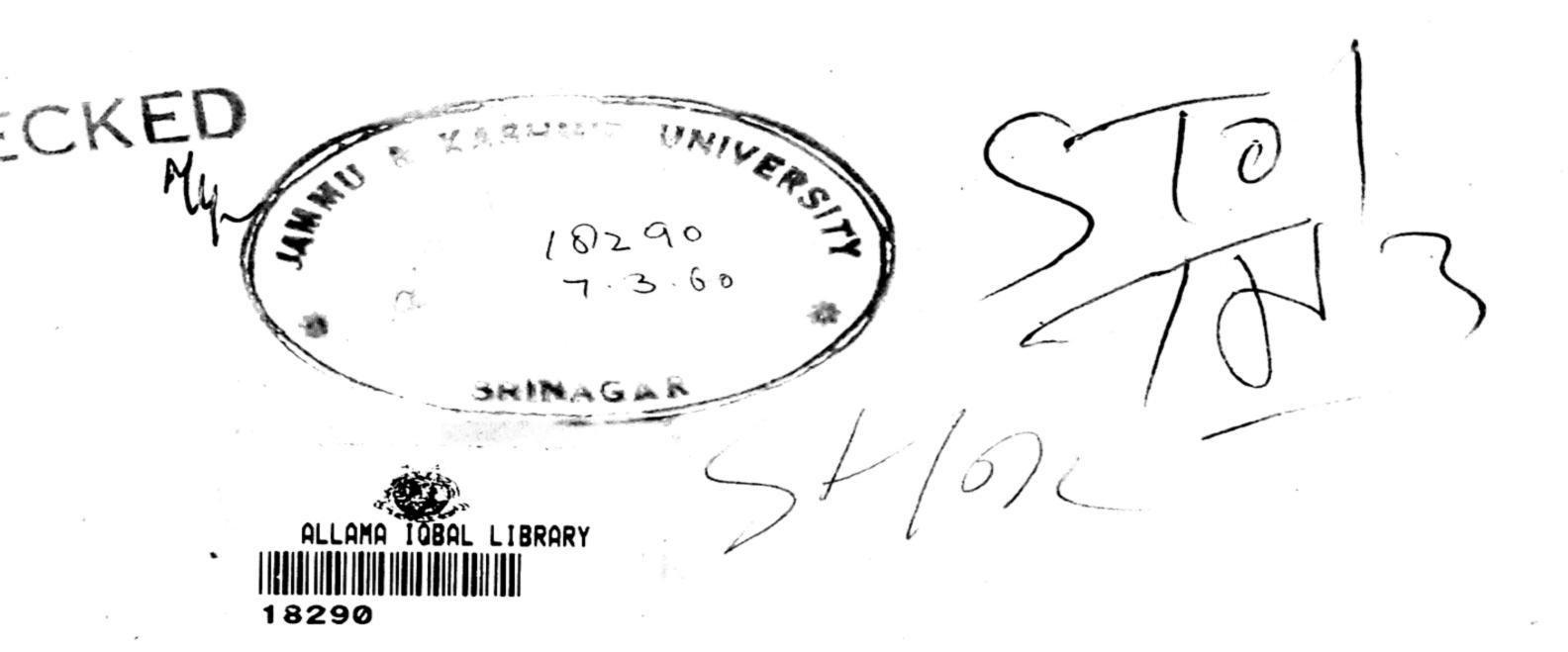
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#### INTRODUCTION

The Parsi community has commemorated in several ways the signal services rendered by Muncherji Khareghat of revered memory as President of the Board of Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet Funds. This Memorial Volume is a humble tribute to his attainments as a profound and versatile scholar. Within a short time of his death his colleagues on the Board of Trustees appointed an Editorial Board consisting of the following members for the preparation and publication of the volume:

Sir Rustam Masani, Kt. M. A., (Chairman.)

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Dr. Dhalla and Dr. Davar could not participate in the work of the Board. Mr. Behramgore Anklesaria passed away on 25th November 1944.

Of the unpublished writings of Muncherji the most important is his work 'ASTROLABES'. The Board decided that such a scientific work should be published as Part II of the Memorial Volume and they requested their accomplished colleague, Prof. D. D. Kapadia, to edit it. He kindly undertook the work and it forms Part II of this Volume. The Board desires to express its obligations to him for the labour of love devoted by him to the arduous task of editing this monumental work.

Another unpublished paper was 'The Ardochsho on Kushan Coins'. The Board proposed to incorporate it in this Memorial Volume, but in the meanwhile Lt. Col. R. Kharegat, arranged to have it published in the Journal of the Numismatic

Society of India-Vol. X Part I, June 1948. There is, therefore, no need to include it in this volume.

Numismatics was a favourite pastime of Muncherji. Years ago, a collection of coins belonging to Framjee Jamaspjee Thanawala was purchased by Jehangir B. Petit. It appears that at Petit's request Muncherji prepared a monograph concerning this collection. It is in Muncherji's own handwriting. 1199 coins, pertaining to different periods and dynasties are tabulated with explanatory notes and their readings with text and translation in English. The Board cherished for some time the hope to publish this work also, but could not obtain the manuscript which was in the possession of the late Sir Shantidas Askaran until his death. His son, Mr. Ravilal has, however, now kindly handed it to the Board with authority to publish it and the question of publishing it as Part III of the Memorial Volume is now under consideration. The Board is beholden to Mr. Ravilal for it.

To the distinguished scholars who have, at the request of the Board, contributed to the volume, the Editorial Board tenders its warmest thanks. It regrets that four of them, Prof. H. Herzfeld, Mr. S. J. Bulsara, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and Khan Bahadur Sheikh A. K. Sarfaraz are not alive to-day to see their articles in print. Unfortunately, there has been inordinate delay in bringing out this volume, mainly owing to a disastrous fire in the press, the only one fully equipped for a work of this character.

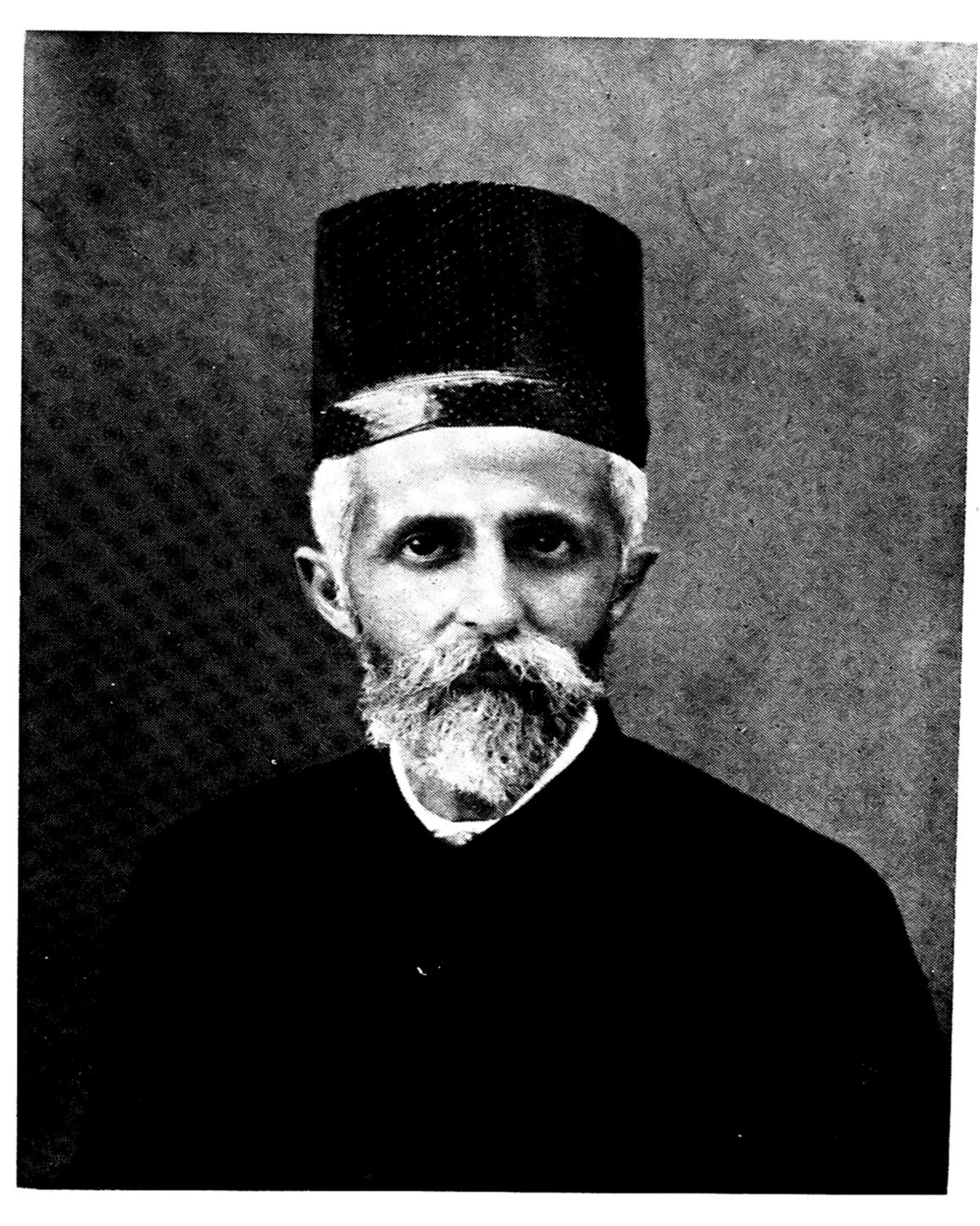
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R. P. MASANI

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MUNCHERJI PESTONJI KHAREGHAT

Born: 18th December 1864] [Died: 2nd July 1943

### MUNCHERJI KHAREGHAT

By SIR RUSTOM MASANI

Blessed are the fortunate few who can live at peace with themselves and with the world despite tempests raging round them. One of such Fortune's favourites was the subject of this memoir, the splendidly endowed yet exceedingly bashful, simple and unassuming man who rose to be the greatest of the elders of his community, one of the most remarkable figures that ever appeared on the communal roll of honour. Muncherji Khareghat was at the helm of affairs of the Parsi Punchayet for more than thirty years, years of fierce controversies and conflicts which repeatedly convulsed the community and tore it into factions. But although he could not escape the dust and din of those controversies, no one ever saw his placid face ruffled in the least by anything that happened, the very embodiment of equanimity that he was. Can an explanation for such extraordinary self-possession be found in the fact that he was born in the midst of a storm and was, therefore, inured to inclement weather?

It was a tumultuous time, indeed, through which the citizens of Bombay were passing when, on December 18, 1864, a son was born to Pestonji Khareghat, an accountant of repute living in Parsi Bazar Street, Fort. Almost the entire population of Bombay was then seized with a speculative fever known as the Share Mania. In the boom caused by the enormous demand for cotton during the days of the American Civil War colossal reclamation companies, banking and investment corporations and other hazardous joint-stock concerns had sprung up like mushroom in the cottonopolis of India. Every tenth man in the population, it was said, was then a company promoter or managing agent or director! A crash was inevitable and Muncherji's father, who was an auditor of some of those speculative concerns, heard clearly the rumblings of the storm that was to break over the heads of those frenzied speculators. When it did burst, it shook, indeed, the whole of Bombay to its foundations.

While however, it is merely a matter of speculation whether the stormy weather which Muncherji encountered at the time of his birth and during the years he was maturing into brilliant boyhood gives a clue to his remarkable placidity, one can, with some degree of certainty, trace his high sense of citizenship, charitable disposition and spirit of service and sacrifice to the prevailing atmosphere of civic patriotism and enlightened benevolence during those stirring and stimulating days. In spite of the fact, or rather because of the fact, that the population as a whole was then caught in the vortex of speculation, not only those who had made large fortunes during the boom, but also the well-to-do classes generally contributed liberally towards the cost of projects for the development and embellishment of the city and for the promotion of public good. Not a few of its principal roads, extensions, railways, works of public utility, educational institutions and hospitals owe their inception to the spirit of patriotism which animated the citizens of Bombay as well as the Government and municipal authorities during that eventful era in the history of the city.

To what extent the most distingushing trait in Muncherji's character, noblesse oblige, was influenced by the surroundings in which he was born and brought up is another interesting conundrum. Parsi Bazar Street was in those days a fashionable locality famous for the residences of Shethias. The Patels and the Dadyseths, the Wadias and the Jeejeebhoys and other wealthy Parsi families had their homes in this locality. One of the characteristics associated with children born and bred in such aristocratic surroundings is the air of superiority and aloofness with which most of them move about in society. Muncherji was, however, singularly free from it. Simple by nature, he remained simple in habit, simple in conduct, manner and character, simple and natural in all he said and did, whether as a student, or as a judge, or as the head of the Parsi community. The attribute of aristocracy most conspicuous in him was his lofty conception of the dignity of human personality and human justice and the corresponding sense of obligation to serve humanity. He who is the greatest among a community shall be its servant. That, one might say, was Muncherji's motto.

Of his pre-school and primary school days we have no information. Where he commenced lisping the alphabet, who were the first teachers under whose spell he came during the most formative stage of his life, we do not know. All we know is that he lost his

mother when he was six years old, that after he finished his primary course he was sent to the Proprietory High School of which Hormusji Taleyarkhan, "the Arnold of India", was Assistant Master, and later, Head Master. A fine scholar, a born teacher, a strict disciplinarian, Hormusji exercised magnetic influence over the minds of his students and the influence of such a powerful personality must have been a potent factor in raising the tone of mind of so willing and devoted a disciple as Muncherji. That scholar's frame of mind, that scholar's aptitude to take infinite pains to arrive at truth, that scholar's earnestness to probe things to the bottom and that scholar's insistence on concentration, thoroughness and precision, whether in the pursuit of knowledge or in the performance of one's duty, which one witnessed and admired in Muncherji, must have been in no small measure due to Hormusji's stimulating precept and example.

Quiet, reticent, reflective, absorbed in study and growing gloriously in intelligence, Muncherji astonished his parents and relations during those early years by the amazing vigour and quickness of his intellect, particularly by his ability and agility in solving mathematical problems. What his father taught his elder brother, Merwanji, was swiftly grasped by Muncherji. Unsurpassed in intelligence, much above the average in respect of capacity for hard work, this lad of unimpressive exterior, slight and under middle height, came to be regarded as an intellectual giant. There was a report current among people, until the work of writing this memoir was taken in hand, that he passed the Matriculation examination when he was only 13 years old and that, as he had not then reached the minimum age prescribed by the University of Bombay, this prodigy had to go all the way to Madras to sit for the examination. On investigation, however, we find that there is no foundation for this report. The records of the Madras University show that he matriculated in the year 1881 at the age of sixteen.

Joining St. Xavier's College, Muncherji came under the influence of the Rev. Father Drake Brockman of whom he often used to speak with feelings of reverence in later years. It appears, however, that he soon left that college and sailed for England, on

May 22, 1881, to read for the I. C. S. examination. After joining the University College, London, Muncherji went to Balliol College, Oxford. The Principal of the College was then Benjamin Jowett, immortalized in the following facetious quatrain:

"First come I. My name is J-W-TT, There's no knowledge but I know it. I am Master of this College, What I don't know isn't knowledge."

Now opens a fascinating chapter in Muncherji's career. In London he put up at Mrs. Fox's boarding establishment at Shepherd's Bush, where his brother Merwanji had also resided during his college days. This new boarder, however, caused much anxiety to the dear old lady concerning his health. He ate no meat. Vegetables and other articles of food he took very sparingly. In one of her letters to Muncherji's father Mrs. Fox expressed her fear that the abstemious young man stood very little chance of passing so difficult an examination as that for admission to the Indian Civil Service, as despite his fragile frame and despite strenuous work he took insufficient food. Little did she know that the youth's thoughts were then moving on a plane much higher than that of his contemporaries. Indeed, what mattered to him most were the things of the spirit. He took to plain living and high thinking as naturally as a duck takes to water, Besides reading for the examination, he occupied himself in the study of theosophy and thought-reading. In later years enthusiasm for theosophy, as preached and practised by the leaders and members of the Theosophical Society, appeared to have waned, but the thirst for spiritual knowledge, occult science and the things of the spirit was the same till the last day of his life.

Muncherji's aversion to drink was even stronger than his antipathy to meat. We have interesting evidence of it in a letter which he wrote to his father from his College Hostel in 1882.

"I will now inform you", he writes, "of another thing which I did some days ago. What do you think it was? I gave a wine party in conjunction with House in his rooms at Balliol. They had been at me for a long time since I got the Prizes and the Boden to give them a treat, and as House got the Hindustani Prize last time, we both joined to do so. It cost me about £. 2–10–0, and it was without your

permission, but, I am sure, you will not grudge it. There were about 12 of us. We commenced at 8-30 P. M. and finished at quarter to twelve. I dare say we should have lasted out longer, but by the Regulations of the University every Undergraduate must be in his house by 12 P.M. It went off very well. Of course I did not drink anything. For I have made it a point not to do so, wherever I go. We had plenty of speechifying, all extempore and of course all bosh. We had plenty of songs, sung in the most unmusical way, in which everybody joined and of course there was plenty of noise. But still they were all in good humour and sensible fellows."

Until the end of his life Muncherji remained a total abstainer and it was an irony of fate, indeed, as we shall see later, that as President of the Board of Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet, he found himself called upon to protest, on behalf of his community, on religious grounds, against the policy of Prohibition introduced in Bombay in the year 1939. The orthodox section of the community insisted that the use of wine in certain religious ceremonies was essential and, quoting chapter and verse, the erudite teetotaler made out a very strong case for a relaxation of the policy so as to respect the susceptibilities of that section.

How unfounded Mrs. Fox's fears were about Muncherji's prospects of success she soon realized as he won prize after prize and scholarship after scholarship and passed the I. C. S. examination in June 1882. Being no sportsman, however, and a poor rider, he was very nearly rejected by the Medical Board. He had not then completed even his eighteenth year, the minimum age for admission of students to colleges in England. The next step was reading for the bar and he commenced attending law courts. One day, at Old Bailey, a woman was tried for murder. She had poisoned another woman whose husband she hoped to marry. She was well defended, but was sentenced to death. "That was the first time in my life I beheld a human being condemned to death," he wrote to his father on December 27, 1882, "and although I do acknowledge the justice of conviction in this particular case, the sentence appears in my humble opinion to be a barbarous kind of justice."

He had commenced the letter with an apology for his inability to write for two months, but instead of giving any news of himself he began relating the story of that murder and ended with a little thesis on capital punishment! The following extracts show how strong his convictions on the subject were, convictions which had grown much stronger when he himself was called upon to try cases of murder and which, it was believed, impelled him to retire early from the Civil Service.

"All punishments, according to the modern humane theory of law, are preventives of crime, not a revenge for what has been done. It is an unhappy but inevitable accident that any pain is suffered by malefactors. It is, therefore, the evident duty of the legislature to curtail punishments as far as they can be, without failing in their principal object, viz. the prevention of crime. This can be very well done by curtailing them gradually, so that by a sudden diminution an encouragement may not be given to crime. For punishments are but arbitrary and there is no reason why a man should suffer three years' imprisonment for a certain offence rather than two. It is only the idea of men who have been accustomed to see the severe punishment inflicted to regard the lighter one as inadequate to the crime. If the three years were reduced to two now, the next generation will regard the two years as severe, as we regard the three years at present.

"This is very well exemplified in the history of the English Law itself. Horse-stealing and many other similar crimes were punishable with death; they are now punishable only with imprisonment, but there is no reason to suppose that the crimes have increased because the punishment has been made lighter.

"So far for punishments in general. Capital punishment, besides being a severe punishment, has several disadvantages which it shares with no other kind of severe punishments.

"First of all, it does more harm and gives more pain to the criminal than he inflicts on his victim. For the suspense and the disgrace are in addition to what he inflicts on the person murdered.

"Secondly, there is no time given to him for repentance. He may repent if he chooses by words, but that is but a poor repentance; he has no time to act; and even society may suffer by losing what he might have done in sincere repentance.

"Thirdly, those dependent on him have to be kept by society and suffer a punishment which they ill deserve in their disgrace and poverty.

"Fourthly, it is not regarded as a punishment by some but rather as a means to what they think fame. Examples often and often occur of people committing murder more for the sake of the infamy than for any material advantage, and often, too often, there is a sympathy in

their favour, only produced by this barbarous mode of punishment, and which goes far, very far to counterbalance the salutary effects of the law.

"Fifthly, there is another disadvantage which, though at first sight insignificant, is not so in reality. The force of example is often greater than the force of command. How can a man regard with abhormence what he sees done almost everyday of his life by those who ought to be patterns of virtues to him; and the general abhorrence of an act is the best means of preventing that act."

On 8th December 1884 Muncherji returned to India and was placed under the Collector of Ahmedabad. Three days before he took charge of his office an interesting ceremony took place. Muncherji was engaged to Jiloobai, daughter of Shapurji Vachha. It was obviously a pre-arranged affair between the parents on either side. They were eagerly awaiting his arrival and, a dutiful, devoted son as he was, Muncherji must have readily acquiesced, thanking his stars, perhaps, that according to the custom then prevailing among the Parsis he had not been yoked to a girl even before he was in his teens! As the engagement took place so soon after he returned to India, one might have expected the marriage ceremony to follow in due course. It, however, took more than six years before he was wedded (March 29, 1891), specially blest by Hymen.

On 17th March 1885 the young recruit to the Civil Service was made Assistant Collector and Magistrate of Ahmednagar. Promotion came fairly rapidly. After having held the post of Assistant Judge and Sessions Judge at Thana, Broach and Shikarpur, Muncherji became Sessions Judge of Hyderabad (Sind) in the year 1892. He was Sessions Judge in Ratnagiri in the year 1907, when he was elevated to the Bench of the High Court of Bombay in an officiating capacity. Whether owing to his reluctance to inflict capital punishment or owing to some other circumstances, he did not appear to have been at ease in that exalted position for he went on leave soon afterwards and then returned as Sessions Judge to Ratnagiri where, loved and adored by the people as a saint, he had already spent eight years and where he was to spend about four years more. Wherever he had gone, he had won the affection and esteem of the people not only by his lofty sense of justice and impartiality but also by his kindly and generous nature. In Ratnagiri, however, he lived long enough to be a real friend to the poor and the afflicted in the town.

His unaffected modesty, perfect naturalness of grace and manner, his simplicity and sincerity, his pious way of living, his affability and eagerness to help the needy, as contrasted with the air of superiority and aloofness, hauteur and affectation, characteristic of England-returned officials and judges generally, created so favourable an impression on all sections of the people in Ratnagiri that long after his retirement they remembered him as a saint and his photograph was seen to adorn the houses of many a family. One day a Parsi lady, related to the Khareghat family, visited Ratnagiri. In the shop of a beetle-leaves seller she saw a photograph of Muncherji. Feigning curiosity, she asked the owner whose picture it was. "It is the likeness of devtai avatar (God incarnate)," said the man, his eyes beaming with ecstasy.

When the writer of this memoir was in Ratnagiri in 1943, he was told by Rao Saheb Surwe, District Leader of the National War Front, that people had such an admiration for Muncherji's sense of justice that to them the very name Khareghat meant a judge and that they spoke of each of his successors as "Khareghat," as though it were a common name for a judge. Even the bungalow of the Sessions Judge came to be known during and after the time he occupied it as Khareghatcha Bungla, "Khareghat's Bungalow".

Many a story is related of Muncherji's good deeds in Ratnagiri. The blind, the maimed and the helpless used to call at his bungalow on the first Sunday of every month. Each was given alms according to his need. It was all arranged as systematically as payment of pension to retired servants. Poor students eager to prosecute their studies received the lion's share of his bounty. Many a student thus helped rose to high positions in public service and professions. It may be stated on the authority of Mr. N. R. Bagve, Honorary Magistrate, Ratnagiri, that while in service Muncherji gave Rs. 100 every month for distribution as scholarships to poor students and that even after retirement he gave for thirty-three years Rs. 60 per month out of his pension. When plague broke out in Ratnagiri, stringent measures had to be taken by Government for compulsory segregation and disinfection. Muncherji's heart bled for the victims of the fell disease and

for their relations to whom removal of their dear ones to a Government segregation camp meant transportation to a slaughter-house. When it was proposed to provide people's own segregation camps, he offered a donation of Rs. 500 as the first instalment. "When I approached him", says Mr. Bagve, "in connection with a special camp for a poor suburb, he handed me a note of Rs. 100, as the first instalment. In 1898 there was a mild scarcity when he set aside Rs. 1,000 for the low-paid employees in his court." The stream of charity thus flowed incessantly for more than fifty years.

In the year 1910 Muncherji retired from the Civil Service when he was only 45. What was the reason? It could not have been his aversion to inflict capital punishment, as was believed by some. If that were the reason, he should have declined long before to officiate as a Judge. It, however, appears that Muncherji had been carrying his resignation in his pocket for some time but what led him ultimately to sever his connection with the service was, according to a story related by Mr. Bagve, a difference of opinion between Muncherji and the then Collector of Ratnagiri regarding the declaration of a library as a disloyal body. The story may be related in the words of Mr. Bagve himself.

"During all the time he was here he was President of the local library, then called the Native General Library. In 1909, the Library was proscribed as a disloyal body and the popular complaint was that the members were denied proper opportunity to have their own say. During the inquiry, which was confidential, Mr. Khareghat tried his best to put the facts before Mr. A. F. Maconochie, the then Collector. But Mr. Maconochie was so obsessed with the suspicion of disloyalty and sedition that he did not listen to the judicious opinion of Mr. Khareghat and Government, too, gave its verdict in favour of the Police and the District Magistrate. Mr. Khareghat as also all other members who were Government servants had to resign. Mr. Khareghat retired shortly after this and it was said that the unhappy incident was one of the reasons of his retirement."

Howsoever much Mucherji's feelings might have been hurt in connection with this incident, whatever other reasons he might have had for retiring prematurely from Government service, his genuine admiration for the British people and his loyalty to

the Crown remained the same till the last day of his life and his abiding faith in British character and British justice illumined all he said and did in connection with the prolonged struggle between the people of India and Government concerning the political progress of the country. During both the world wars he exhorted his Parsi audiences to stand by the British Government and to help the war effort not merely because it was the sacred duty of every Zoroastrian to help his King and country but also because he believed that the British rule was benign on the whole and that the cause for which the British people were fighting was just.

By Muncherji's premature retirement Ratnagiri lost an impartial judge and a high-souled friend and benefactor of the people. What was its loss was, however, a gain, a great gain, to the Parsi community. Early in the year 1911 the community had to elect three members to the Board of Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet Funds. Being the first election under a constitution framed by the High Court, it naturally aroused great interest. As Muncherji had just relinquished office, some of the leading members of the community, keenly interested in the election, induced him to allow them to put forward his name as one of the candidates for election. They formed a caucus to get Muncherji, Navroji Gamadia and Hormusji Wadia, elected to fill the three vacancies. It, however, occured, rather late in the day, to some friends of Pherozeshah Mehta, that there was no member of the community better qualified to guide the deliberations of the Punchayet Board than the Uncrowned King of Bombay, the title by which Pherozeshah was then known by reason of his ascendency over his colleagues in the Municipal Corporation of Bombay. The "reformists", who had been long clamouring for an improvement in the system of administration of the Punchayet Funds and who had persistently opposed and challenged the authority of the Trustees, readily supported this move to send to the council of elders a champion of reforms who had no equal in the whole of Bombay. Pherozeshah was then in England. They sent him a cable, assuring him of success, and obtained his consent to put in his nomination as a candidate for election. It was for Pherozeshah a tragic mistake, perhaps more tragic than any he ever committed, to have accorded his consent to the

proposal. Before this election, he had not taken any active part in communal affairs and could not count upon the support of the electorate as confidently as he would in the case of a municipal or political election. The situation was worsened by the supporters of Pherozeshah's candidature who described him as a reformist, thereby giving a handle to the orthodox party to raise the cry, "religion in danger". Jehangir Petit was a disciple and admirer of Pherozeshah. But he, too, stoutly resisted the move as being mischievous. He declared he had himself consulted Pherozeshah whether he would care to stand for election as a Trustee and having learnt that the Trusteeship had no attraction for the veteran politician, had approached others. He could not, therefore, at that stage stultify himself by asking one of his nominees to withdraw in Pherozeshah's favour. Instead of prevailing upon him to find a solution of the difficulty, the rash and reckless supporters of Pherozeshah defied him to do his worst. Therein they relied on Pherozeshah's eminence as a public man, forgetting the triumph of orthodoxy in such communal contests. Defeat seemed inevitable to the thoughtful among Pherozeshah's friends; nevertheless, the only thing left to be done within the short time available to them was to secure as many votes for him as possible.

The writer of this memoir had decided to take no part in the election, as he strongly disapproved of the High Court Scheme which, he feared, was likely to lead to the formation of cabals and other electioneering devices derogatory to the dignity of the office. Seeing, however, that Pherozeshah had been placed in a false position, he considered it his duty to do whatever could be done to avert his defeat. He, therefore, tried to secure votes for Pherozeshah, although it meant working against the other candidates, including Muncherji for whom he had the highest regard and who, he believed, would be the best choice from the point of view of the conservative as well as the progressive parties in the community. Hormusji Wadia also strove hard during the last few days to secure votes for Pherozeshah. He withdrew his candidature four days before the day of election. According to the rules, however, his nomination could not be withdrawn at that stage. All the same Wadia endeavoured till the last moment to get his supporters

to vote for Pherozeshah. Nothing, however, could save the situation for Pherozeshah. Muncherji secured the highest number of votes; the Lion of Bombay the lowest. When he returned from England, Pherozeshah realized how grossly he had been misled. To the writer of this sketch he expressed his astonishment that he should have been assured of success in spite of the opposition of a large number of voters. Annoyed though he was at being put in a false position, he was too great a man to find fault with those who had opposed his election. When Jehangir Petit went to see Pherozeshah in his chambers, the first words that came to the lips of the magnanimous man were "Jehangir, I congratulate you on your success."

Muncherji held the honourable office of Akābar of the Punchayat till the last day of his life. No more gifted, no more painstaking and conscientious Trustee has ever adorned the Board. The burden of the Board's work largely devolved on him. Cheerfully he shouldered it and made it the mission of his life for, besides the love for his community and the desire to serve it to the best of his ability, he had the leisure as well as the experience, capacity, energy and spirit of self-sacrifice to devote to the daily increasing administrative work of the Punchayet.

On the death of Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, fifth Baronet, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, 1st Bart, became the President of the Board of Trustees in 1931. Owing to age and failing health, however, he could not cope with the work of the office which was cheerfully attended to by Muncherji. In fact he was virtually the Chairman. When, therefore, in the year 1931, the Trustees of the N. M. Wadia Charities thought it was time some steps were taken for the co-ordination of the work of Parsi Charity Trusts the writer of this sketch was deputed to discuss the matter informally with Muncherji in the first instance.

After the death of Sir Cowasji Jehangir in the year 1934 Muncherji was duly elected President of the Board. Important questions of social legislation then came up for consideration. His legal knowledge and mature judgment were of inestimable value to his colleagues, particularly in connection with the Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act and the Parsi Intestate Succession Act. Those man-made enactments of 1865, placing

woman under a great disadvantage both in regard to succession and marriage rights, were out of date. An orthodox Parsi though he was, Muncherji saw eye to eye with the reformists in their demand for radical changes in those enactments and agreed to act as Chairman of the Parsi Laws Reforms Sub-Committee. His legal knowledge and experience both as a judge and as an elder of the community proved an asset to the Sub-Committee and saved it from many pit-falls. For instance, in connection with the question of intestate succession members of the Sub-Committee were in favour of allowing a larger share to the widow of the deceased than to his parents. Muncherji opposed this proposal as he thought it might lead in many cases to aged parents being stranded. This view-point was upheld by the organizations that met finally to examine the draft amendments. Similarly, he opposed the proposal that the maintenance allowance to a wife should be limited to three years, as he apprehended that such a provision would have the effect of compelling a wife to apply for divorce. She might be old and sickly, or she might have other reasons not to sever the connection altogether, why should divorce be forced on her by limiting the period of maintenance? In this case too, his voice prevailed. When the Government of Baroda was faced with a proposal to alter the marriage laws of the Parsis in its territory, its eyes were turned to Muncherji and he was invited to attend the Baroda Legislative Assembly in June 1926 to help it in dealing with Mr. Dinshah Dabu's Marriage and Divorce Bill.

Another piece of legislation in connection with which Muncherji's advice was sought at the meetings of a Legislative Assembly was the Parsi Public Trusts' Registration Act of 1936. The misuse of communal Trusts had assumed scandalous proportions in Bombay during the early years of this century. In the year 1911 the question of regulating by law the administration of such funds was raised in the Bombay Legislative Council but it took no less than twenty five years before the question of controlling the trusts by legislation was seriously taken up. When the Bill for the registration and regulation of the Parsi Public Trusts came up for consideration, two eminent Parsis intimately connected with Parsi Trusts were nominated special members of the Legislative Assembly, Muncherji Khareghat and Khan Bahadur Kavasji

Burjorji Vakil, head of the Parsi Panchayet of Surat. Muncherji contended that, though somewhat belated, the accounts of the Punchayet Trusts used to be published in details and that considering the labour and expense involved in preparing statements of accounts of the various Trusts, it should not be made obligatory on the Trustees to submit the accounts to the Registrar within the specified period. When, however, the Bill became law, none more anxious than Muncherji to have the statements completed and submitted in time to the Registrar. As the authorities had been warned by him that they were imposing a condition incapable of fulfilment, delay on the part of the Punchayet might have been condoned, but law to him was law and must be obeyed. He, therefore, advised his colleagues to engage additional staff in the Punchayet office to cope with the work and it was asked to work overtime, if necessary, so as to be able to submit the returns in time. From day to day inquiries and suggestions emanated from Muncherji as to the progress made with the work and the way in which it could be accelerated. It was impossible, nevertheless, during the first three years to submit the statements in time. Thanks, however, to Muncherji's patient efforts, all difficulties were overcome and the accounts were thereafter filed regularly in good time.

In connection with yet another piece of social legislation Muncherji had to play a very prominent part, in the writer's opinion a very perplexing and pathetic part. In the year 1939 the policy of prohibition initiated by the Congress Government of the day created a stir in the Parsi community. A fairly large number of Parsi families lived on income traffic in liquor and toddy. What would happen to them? That was a legitimate question asked by many a Parsi. There was, no doubt, cause for concern for those who would be thrown out of employment and for their families. But the injury to the interests of a very small section of the community in India was grossly exaggerated by some of the agitators who went so far as to accuse Congress ministers of having introduced prohibition with the deliberate intention to hit the Parsis. This kind of agitation suited not only the devotees of Baachus but also those who were otherwise against the measure as being fantastic and unworkable besides being objectionable on grounds of public policy and personal freedom. Others again, who were for political reasons ever on the look out for anything to discredit the Congress regime, made political capital out of the dire distress threatening the Parsi community. To obey or not to obey the new law became the burning question of the day.

Muncherji's position during those days of communal frenzy must have been very embarrassing. A teetotaler all his life, a social reformer and an elder of the community charged with the administration of funds for the relief of the poor whose destitution and degradation could be traced in many cases directly to the evil of drink, he should have been the foremost to welcome social legislation for the protection of people from the ruinous consequences of such a scourge. As a conscientious lawyer and erstwhile judge he could not be expected to join the forces of those who were in revolt against the Government of the day and advocate defiance of the law of the land, but as the head of the Parsi community he considered it his duty to join in all constitutional protests against the new enactment. It would have been absurd to plead that for the sake of a handful of Parsis connected with the liquor trade the policy of prohibition should not be given effect to. The Parsis, therefore, took their stand on religion. Their protests against the new laws were launched not merely because of their inherent defects, not so much because civil liberty was undermined, not so much because the economic interests and welfare of some Parsis engaged in liquor traffic were jeopardised, but mainly because the religion of the community was in danger. It was urged that wine was necessary for the performance of certain Zoroastrian rituals and that a memorial should be sent to Government on behalf of the community, praying for relief in view of express religious injunctions enjoining the use of liquor on ceremonial occasions. Who could draft the memorial more deftly than Muncherji? The task was entrusted to him and no lawyer in the world could have made out a stronger case than he did, quoting chapter and verse from the Parsi scriptures and establishing to the hilt the claim for special concessions put forward by those Parsis who considered it essential to have liquor for ceremonial purposes. Mainly owing to his advocacy, Government

allowed the distribution of 24,000 pints of liquor annually through the Parsi Punchayet amongst Parsis for religious purposes. Whether the concession was warranted or not, Muncherji must have felt honestly that he was doing his duty as the head of the community in voicing its sentiments and strenuously supporting its demands.

It would seem that the sympathies of the Governor of Bombay, Sir Roger Lumley (now Lord Scarborough), were with the Parsis who were thrown out of employment owing to the introduction of prohibition, but as a constitutional Governor, he wisely refrained from doing anything savouring of interference with the policy of the Congress Ministry which had for the first time in the history of the Congress accepted office and which it was his earnest desire to help as much as possible to function without the slightest impediment in its way. Nevertheless, he was anxious to understand the viewpoint of the Parsi community and to ascertain to what extent its members engaged in liquor trade were likely to suffer and what steps could be taken to rehabilitate those who would be thrown out of employment. To that end he had granted interviews to some of the leaders of the community even before the introduction of prohibition and he was particularly anxious to meet Muncherji. One day, when Muncherji was in Matheran, an interesting visitor was announced. It was an A.D.C. to the Governor of Bombay who also happened to be there on that day. The A.D.C. brought with him an invitation from His Excellency to lunch. It was a rule with Muncherji to express inability to accept such invitations. Had he declined it, the A.D.C. had instructions to tell Muncherji that His Excellency would like to see him in connection with the problem of prohibition. But anticipating the object of the invitation Muncherji readily accepted it, anxious as he was to have an opportunity to place the case of the Parsis before the Governor as forcibly as he could and to seek his good offices in the matter.

The imposition of the Supplementary General Tax necessitated by the loss of revenue from liquor licences meant considerable decrease in the income derived by charity trusts from properties.

A protest meeting was held in Blavatsky Hall, presided over by Muncherji, and due mainly to the lead given by him, the protest had its effect. Government allowed certain exemptions in the case of properties the income from which was utilised for education, medical relief and other charitable purposes.

Growing destitution in the community despite incessant effort at alleviation constitutes one of the most perplexing sociological problems of the Parsis. History is full of illustrations of cases of human societies violently shaken to their foundations by political anarchy, economic anarchy or social anarchy. But never before has the world witnessed a single case in which the social equilibrium was so disturbed, the social order rendered so chaotic and its stability so gravely imperilled by the anarchy of charity, as is seen to-day in the case of the Parsis, particularly those residing in benevolent Bombay. The commercial enterprise, thrift and foresight of the Parsis of the past generations enabled them to amass large fortunes and their philanthropic disposition and sense of social obligations made them give away large sums of money in charity. But, oddly enough, as inheritors of numerous charitable endowments the present-day Parsis find that excess of red corpuscles has led to a morbid condition of the body politic. The stream of bounty continues to flow, replenishing and augmenting the resources available for the amelioration of the condition of the poor of the community. But just as facile credit increases indebtedness, so does facile alms-giving swell the number of families dependent on charity.

During the life time of Muncherji the system or lack of system of distribution of charity funds for the relief of the poor, which thus led to their demoralisation and pauperised even the lower middle classes, provoked strong comment. The Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet Funds, as the elders of the community, were particularly blamed. As the President of the Board of Trustees and, as the Trustee who had, before he became President, the most potent voice in moulding the policy and guiding the day-to-day administration of the funds for the relief of the poor, Muncherji had to bear the brunt of the attack of the critics who took him to be a champion of the prevailing system of giving doles to the poor and

as an obstacle in the way of regulating and co-ordinating the disribution of various funds under a concerted scheme.

The Trustees of various charity funds did, indeed, need a shake-But to have singled out Muncherji for censure was not fair. If he adhered to the prevailing system of distributing doles, it was because he was moved by a dominating sense of the pressing needs, interests and claims of the poor and because he held that, so long as there were destitutes in the community for giving employment to whom, or for relieving whose distress otherwise, adequate arrangements had not been made, doles would have to be given. If he was not keen on concerted action being taken by the different Trusts so as to have applications for relief scrutinized by a central agency and dealt with under a co-ordinated system of administration of charity funds, it was because he knew that the trustees of several charity funds did not want to surrender their powers or delegate their duties to others and it was because he was of opinion that they could not be compelled to fall in line with other Trustees. Therein, no doubt, he seemed to take too pessimistic a view of the possibilities for reform despite the non-co-operation of a few trusts. To discuss the matter with him the writer had an interview with Muncherji in the year 1931. He told Muncherji that his colleagues on the Board of Trustees of the N. M. Wadia Charities were of opinion that it was desirable that a conference of the Trustees of charities concerned in the administration of relief to the poor should be held, under the auspices of the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet Funds, to consider the extent to which the charity trusts could and would co-operate in evolving a system of pooling their resources and setting up an agency through which relief could be ensured to the needy but denied to those who were able to work or were otherwise ineligible for financial assistance from the trusts. Muncherji replied that he had his doubts concerning the feasibility of the proposal and had, therefore, as a first step towards co-ordination of the work of various charity trusts, arranged for a General Register being maintained in the offices of the Parsi Punchayet Funds, embodying particulars concerning the help given to families living on charity. If the different Trusts consulted the Register, much of the abuses incidental to unco-ordinated action could be avoided. The

writer was not satisfied that that was all that could be attempted towards collaboration and co-ordination of effort, but in view of his unbounded admiration and respect for Muncherji he readily agreed that as the first step in the process of charity organization and co-operation of different Trusts, the General Register should be given a fair trial.

Muncherji spared no pains to see that the particulars embodied in the Register were full and complete, scanning it from time to time and constantly instructing and guiding the staff engaged for compiling it. Howsoever gifted, toil was, so to say, a habit with him. Whenever faced with arduous business, he bent his whole energy to do it or to get it done by others under his direction. In regard to all such work his zeal and energy never flagged.

It did not take long before a further step was taken by the Charity Trusts towards combination of effort. A conference was held to co-ordinate the different activities of all Trusts in the different spheres of communal well-being. But it still seemed difficult to bring about combination of effort and pooling of resources. As a tentative measure, however, it was agreed that a few co-operating trusts should pool their resources for helping Parsi students in pursuing their post-matriculation and post-graduate studies in India and abroad and a special committee, consisting of representatives of the co-operating trusts, was constituted for the purpose. The successful working of this committee paved the way for further conferences and consultations concerning the scope for co-operation in other matters with the result that a Liaison Committee consisting of representatives of different trusts was appointed in the year 1946.

Muncherji did not live to see all the developments that have taken place since the introduction of the General Register, but even whilst he was alive, the programme of co-ordinated activities in respect of welfare work was gathering momentum. Under his leadership arrangements were made for consolidation of help given by different trusts to the needy who were thus spared the humiliation and hardship of knocking at the door of different trusts for

relief. Schemes for medical inspection and treatment of children in Parsi charity shools, for apprenticing Parsi youths to the Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur, for a hostel for the accommodation of poor Parsi students and for the establishment of an Employment Bureau for the unemployed were also formulated under his leadership for joint action by different Trusts.

Muncherji's presidentship of the Punchayet also witnessed an important reform in the constitution of the Board itself. By a consent decree obtained in 1935 the following radical changes were made in the scheme for the election of the Trustees framed by the High Court of Bombay in the year 1910:—

- 1. A Trustee appointed under the election scheme as amended should hold office for 10 years and not for life as heretofore. He could stand for re-election.
- 2. The minimum age for the appointment of a Trustee was reduced from 35 to 30 and if two-thirds of the Voters made a representation to the Trustees in favour of a younger candidate it would further be reduced to 25.
- 3. There may be one Lady Trustee on the Board.

Formidable as it seems, this is but an incomplete record of Muncherji's work for the alleviation of the suffering of the poor and for the promotion of communal welfare. One more activity in that direction deserves, however, special mention—the housing of the poor and lower middle classes of the community. It is a characteristic of Parsis that though they are easily divided on matters of religious rites and usages, they stand up as one man whenever they are face to face with the moral shipwrecks of society or the wants of suffering humanity. One of the dire wants of the poor is that of decent houses to live in, where they can bring up their children under conditions favourable to the development of their faculties and their personality. No doubt, as a community the Parsi poor are relatively much better off in respect of housing than the bulk of the population of Bombay. Thanks to the pioneering efforts of that Parsi Peabody-Muncherji Murzban-the well-to-do classes of the community were stirred, more than fifty years ago, to provide healthy homes for the poor. Since then

charitable chawls and colonies for poor and middle-class Parsis have been continuously springing up in Bombay. In that movement Muncherji Khareghat played a prominent part for over thirty years. The Hughes Road colony, the Dadar colony, the Tardeo, Gamadia and Captain colonies, all bear testimony to the deep interest he took in the projects for their establishment and the thought and attention he devoted to every detail concerning the construction of buildings comprised in the schemes from the time of excavation for their foundations till the time of installation of sanitary and electrical fittings. As regards the houses built under the direction of the Trustees of Parsi Punchayet Funds, Mr. S. F. Desai, one of the Secretaries, writes:

"He would go into the quality and quantity of materials, their specifications, rates, total amounts, actual costings, letting rates, economic rents, concession rents, etc. He even used to visit buildings under construction and the way he went up and down the provisional staircases made of bamboos was a matter of amazement to young men. He never took the help of any hand to cross a ditch or a patch of mud and, if offered, declined it with a resenting gesture of his hand."

For this sketch it is not necessary to go into other details of the work that devolved on Muncherji as an elder of his community. His magnificent efforts during certain epidemics and catastrophes, however, cannot be passed over in silence. As a legacy of World War One, the world witnessed during the years 1918-1919 the most widespread and virulent type of influenza in its history. Along with the other members of the population a large number of Parsis in Bombay lost their lives during that epidemic. With characteristic alacrity the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet Funds provided a special fever hospital at Babulnath Road for the treatment of Parsi patients. Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, then famous as a physician and now as a Congress Minister, was in charge of the hospital. Both he and Muncherji dedicated their precious time and talents to that humanitarian work.

To visit poor patients in the hospitals and to see that they were well looked after was regarded by Muncherji as his paramount duty. Apart, however, from the consciousness of his obligations as the elder of the community, the sufferings of the poor and the

afflicted came as near to his heart as if those nearest and dearest to him had been the victims of the fell disease. One day when he was on his rounds, unaccompanied by a member of the hospital staff, he asked a woman patient whether she was properly attended to. Not knowing who he was, she exclaimed "भरेरे, मुआ, तु डाख् पूछवावाला?" The philosophic visitor did not pause to explain but passed on to see other patients. Dr. Gilder from whom I heard this story could not say how much that silly patient must have felt ashamed of herself when she was told that the simple, unassuming, saint-like visitor was not a vagabond but a revered trustee of the Parsi Punchayet.

Muncherji's solicitude for the afflicted, as evinced by his frequent visits to the Fever Hospital, reminds one of his decision years ago to visit Ahmedabad during the epidemic of cholera in the year 1888. He was then a Government officer and he considered it his duty to be personally helpful to the people of Ahmedabad. His elder brother, Lieut. Colonel M. P. Khareghat, was perturbed and wrote to his father: "Muncha wants to go to Ahmedabad. It looks uncommonly like courting death."

1921 was a year of travail for all in India. The non-co-operation movement was in full swing. Tempers were frayed. The visit of the then Prince of Wales to India failed to relieve the tension. After his visit to Bombay riots broke out in the city. A large number of Parsis, being members of a community loyal to the British Crown, were mercilessly belaboured. Muncherji's heart bled for them. With Dr. Jivanji Modi, the then Secretary of the Punchayet, he went round the areas affected by the riots and gave monetary or other help to the victims.

Whenever members of the community suffered from any natural calamity, such, for instance, as the Gujarat floods in 1927, the Trustees were prompt in ministering relief and Muncherji was the man to inspire, organise and carry to completion schemes for succour. When the terrific cyclone of 1940 devastated Thana district and Gujarat, Muncherji was once more at the helm of activities to help the afflicted. Applications for relief poured in from all directions but Muncherji was never weary of subjecting each case to his argus-eyed scrutiny.

Engrossed though he was in the work of the Punchayet and immersed in life-long study of his favourite subjects Muncherji managed to spare time to attend to the work of various social, educational and literary organizations. Of most of these he was President. The names of only a few of these organizations will indicate the wide range of his activities: The K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Zarthoshti Dharam Sambandhi Khol Karnari Mandli, Dnyan Prasarak Mandli, Numismatic Society of India, Sir J. J. P. B. Institution, the Victoria Memorial School for the Blind, the B. D. Petit Parsi General Hospital, the Zoroastrian Association, the Garib Zarthoshti Rehthan Fund, the Bombay Pinjrapol and the Parsi Charity Organization Society. Clear-headed, careful, methodical and helpful, to all such institutions he was a pillar of strength. His regular attendance at their meetings and concentration on the questions coming up for discussion were exemplary, his contribution to their deliberations invaluable and his observations and suggestions on the papers submitted to him helpful and illuminating. To sit by him, to witness and admire the warmth of his feeling and ardour for all that is good and noble and beautiful in human relationship was a liberal education for those who had the privilege of being associated with him as his colleagues. Orthodox or progressive, wise or unwise, rational or irrational as he might have appeared to them on different occassions, he was at all times sincere and selfless in all he said and did.

It was natural that the help of such an esteemed and judicious elder of the community, who had during his youth distinguished himself as a judge, should be sought as an arbitrator or as a conciliator by many individuals and institutions. Two important cases may be cited.

The Bhagaria Mobed Case. A High Court decision given in 1884 upheld the monopoly of Bhagaria priests to perform certain religious ceremonies in the Anjuman fire-temple. This right was ignored in a trust deed made in 1891. Two of the priests concerned, Erachji Framji Dastur and Faredun Ratanji Kanga, thereupon, filed a suit against the Trustees of the fire-temple. The matter was ultimately referred to the arbitration of Muncherji. The arbitration proceedings lasted for three years. There were

58 sittings at which a large number of witnesses recorded their evidence. The award which Muncherji gave was accepted by the Court and a decree was passed in the year 1915 by which the Bhagaria priests' right to perform solely the principal religious ceremonies was upheld.

The Fawcett Strike Inquiry Committee. Disputes between mill hands and mill owners have become a constant feature of the textile industry during the last three decades. In the year 1928 an amended scheme for a standardised schedule of rates and standardised muster prepared by the Millowners' Association led to disputes which soon assumed the proportions of a general strike. The matter was referred by Government to a Strike Inquiry Committee of three members presided over by Mr. Justice Fawcett. Muncherji was invited to serve on the Committee. It meant arduous work and laborious study of technical details relating to the textile industry. With his usual industry and clarity he grasped those details and his examination of witnesses was a revelation to his colleagues and others of the mastery of the subject acquired by him within the short time he had to study the different types of machinery which go to the making of a cotton mill and the various textile processes involved in its working. Even during his youth such versatility, vivacity and assiduity would have appeared extraordinary; after sixty-five hard-spent years they were simply amazing.

In the year 1937, a movement was set on foot to mark the Parsi community's appreciation of Muncherji's phenomenal services. The following extract from a letter, dated December 17, 1937, addressed to the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayet Funds by Messrs. R. P. Masani and P. P. Mistri, gives briefly the history of the movement:

"This is the twenty-fifth year of Mr. M. P. Khareghat's valued connection with the Board of Trustees of the Parsi Panchayet Funds, first as a Member and then as Chairman. There being a general desire among the members of our community that this occasion should be signalised by the installation of his marble bust at a suitable place as a token of the very high esteem in which he is held by his co-religionists

for his sterling qualities as a true Zoroastrian and of their high appreciation of the valued services rendered by him to the community, particularly of his devoted and self-sacrificing services as a Trustee of the Parsi Punchayet Funds for twenty-five years, a Committee was appointed to make the necessary arrangements to carry out the object. The Committee consider that a suitable site for the installation of the bust would be the centre of the Road running perpendicular to Hughes Road and leading to the steps of the Hughes Road Estate of the Trustees, where a mango tree stands at present. We are accordingly asked by the Committee to approach you with the request that the Trustees will be pleased to grant their permission to the bust being installed on that site before a meeting of members of our community on a day to be fixed hereafter in January 1938."

The bust was accordingly unveiled on the site before a large and representative gathering on 20th February 1938.

Muncherji will, however, live in history not so much by his splendid work as an ideal judge, not so much by his devoted and self-sacrificing services to his community as one of its elders, not so much by the energy, ability and singleness of purpose shown by him in various spheres of public service, as by his matchless intellectual vigour and versatility, profound learning and love for research, all vividly reflected in his writings. The Parsi community may well take credit for having produced not a few eminent devotees of the goddess of learning, but in that galaxy of scholars none shines with such unique lustre as Muncherji. Of all men of learning we have known within recent years he was the man blest with a true scholar's cast of mind, a true scholar's sense of duty and outlook on life, clearness of thought and judgment, versatility as well as profundity, and a true scholar's sense of fellowship and service.

Not many literary publications stand to his credit. Some of his contributions to oriental scholarship still remain to be published. But the following list of what has already been published is sufficient to give one an idea of his voracious appetite for knowledge and amazing versatility:—

- 1. "Astrolabe."
- 2. "Pancha Sidhantika" in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (No. LII, Vol. XIX 1896).

- 3. Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis by Ervad S. D. Bharucha (Parts V & VI edited).
- 4. The Identity of some Heavenly Bodies mentioned in the old Iranian Writings (Sir J. J. Zarthoshti Madressa Jubilee Volume).
- 5. The "Darya-i-Noroz" (Dr. Modi Memorial Volume).
- 6. Preface to "Parsis of Ancient India" by Mr. S. K. Hodiwalla.
- 7. Foreword to "Oriental Treasures" by Mr. J. C. Katrak.
- 8. Report of the "Parsi Panchang Committee" 2 Vols.
- 9. Foreword to "Hundred Years Calendar."
- 10. Deciphering of Mr. Thanawalla's Collection of Coins.
- 11. Thesis on the origin and meaning of the name Ardochsho on Kushan Coins.

It is beyond the capacity of the writer of this sketch to offer any opinion on the intrinsic merit of such recondite theses and articles, but one of his monumental studies may be singled out for special mention—"Astrolabe", \* which has been edited by Professor D. D. Kapadia, a scholar of wide and varied literary and scientific attainments, as silent and bashful as Muncherji. This feat of intellectual labour and learning is more than sufficient to make Muncherji live for years as an accomplished Avesta, Sanskrit and Persian scholar versed not only in religious and literary lore but also in History, Geography, Numismatics, Astrology and Astronomy.

The greatness of a scholar consists not so much in the depth and vigour of his intellect as in the strength and splendour of his character and his earnest desire to seek the Truth and to hold fast to his convictions. Tested on that touchstone, Muncherji Khareghat emerges pure gold—a true scholar, one of the very few given by the Parsi community to the world, resembling both in mental endowment and personal habits and character that splendidly endowed scholar, teacher, preacher and philosopher, Khurshedji Rustomji Cama. Clear-headed, careful, methodical Muncherji combined in him the scholar's aptitude to take infinite pains to probe things to the bottom to arrive at truth, severe

toil, concentration, thoroughness and accuracy, with the true scholar's innate modesty, simplicity, sincerity and humanity, a feeling for all that is good and beautiful in human relationship. To see him participating at Committee meetings or Conference tables in the discussions on various problems, absolutely unconscious of the superiority of his talents and profundity of knowledge, listening intently to every one, drawing out every one and respecting different viewpoints with a modesty that was part of his fibre, was a spectacle even more impressive than the wealth of his learning and the radiance of his intellect mighty by nature and made more resplendent by the inborn humility, courtesy, grace and goodness of the man. His scholarly life, one may say, was part of the rest of his life, governed always by a desire to learn, and guided always in all the efforts he made and all the steps he took by a high moral ideal, leaving behind him the memory of a great citizen and a typical Zoroastrian.

# M. P. KHAREGHAT: THE MAN AND THE SCHOLAR

## By Diwan Bahadur Krishnalal M. Jhaveri

As a practising lawyer I knew Mr. Khareghat's extreme unwillingness to inflict the sentence of death by hanging, in cases where the offence of deliberate murder was proved. Another such humanitarian Judge was the late Mr. Dayaram Gidumal. Both of them on retirement plunged into a life of social service, eschewing politics, and both have left a name which will be cherished with abiding interest.

I had the good fortune to work with Mr. Khareghat, on several public Institutions for the last two decades and a half, and was struck with the high principles of conduct he displayed in the conduct of the affairs of those bodies. Whether it was the Cama Oriental Institute or the Gnyan Prasarak Mandli or the Victoria Memorial School for the Blind, or any other Institution, the sincerity with which he attended to the work before him, was transparent. His gentleness, modesty and unobtrusiveness were remarkable. Because of them he was never aggressive, though plain-spoken.

Mr. Khareghat was one of that diminishing band of Parsi Pandits, who had studied the Sanskrit language from a Scholar's point of view. Mathematics was another forte of his. Of his manifold public activities in the service of his community, sothers will no doubt write from first-hand knowlege.

I take this opportunity to acknowledge, publicly and gratefully, the help he gave me in the solution of a very difficult problem, in connection with a book I published about 20 years ago. I happened to have to edit a collection of Imperial Farmans (A. D. 1577 to A. D. 1805) granted by the then Mogul Emperors to the ancestors of His Holiness the Tikayat Maharaj, the religious head of the Vaishnavite section of Hindus They were dated some Ilahi and some Hijri Eras. I was unable to give their corresponding dates of the Christian Era. I turned to my friend for help and though the task was strenuous, onerous and troublesome, he cheerfully carried

it out and placed me under deep obligation. I am quoting in this connection a portion of the Preface I wrote to the book:—

"The ascertainment of the corresponding dates of the Farman according to the Christian Calendar, is entirely due to the kindness of Mr. M. P. Khareghat, I.C.S., (Retd.). On this side of India it is difficult to find another such expert in this branch of learning, conversion of dates and years of one Era into another. In his letter he thus describes the difficulties. 'The Christian dates are designated as of the Old Style (O.S.) or the New Style (N.S.). The Old Style dates are all those according to the Julian Calendar, which was in use all over Europe before Pope Gregory XIII made certain changes in it in A.D. 1582. These changes were accepted over the greater part of Europe, shortly thereafter but not till 1752 A.D. in England. The dates according to this Gregorian Calendar are called New Style dates, the chief difference between the two styles, so far as the period in which Farmans IV to XII fall, is that there is a difference of ten days between them, in the case of Farmans XIII and XIV there is a difference of eleven days. Thus the date in Farman No. IX is 21st September, New Style, but 11th September, Old Style. The dates of the first three Farmans fall before 1582 so they would always be given in the Old Style.

The dates of the Hijri months are of two kinds, called respectively Hisabi and Hilali. The former are derived from a calculation of mean motions and are those generally set down in all the Text Books and Tables. The latter are derived from actual observation of the New Moon (Hilal) and are thus generally in use among the people. It thus happens that there is a difference of a day between the Hisabi and Hilali dates e.g., first Mohurram Hisabi may fall on a Tuesday, but the new moon may not be visible till after sunset on that day, and thus according to the Hilali reckoning Wednesday would be first Mohurram. It is to cure this uncertainty that usually the day of the week is given in documents with the Hijri date; one can then be quite certain when the document was actually made. (In these Farmans, unfortu-

nately the days of the week are not given.) I have treated the dates given by you as Hisabi for they are certain so far as calculation goes.

The Ilahi Calendar is not Zoroastrian, although the months are called by the same names as the Zoroastrian months. The constitution of the year is entirely different, and it begins at an entirely different time. There is also a certain amount of uncertainty as to the exact elements of the Ilahi Calendar, so far as our present knowledge goes, although the general principles are known; hence it happens that the Ilahi dates when calculated are out by a day or two occasionally. In this case also, as in the case of the Hijri Calendar, if the week day is given, as it often is, no doubt is left.

"In Farman No. VI. 17th Meher, Ilahi Year 6 of Shah Jehan, it is probable that the adjective Ilahi only qualifies the month Meher and not the year. Shah Jehan abolished the use of the Ilahi Year and restored the use of the Hijri Calendar, and his Regnal years were reckoned according to it from 1st Jamadi II. He came to the throne on 8th Jamadi II A.H. 1037 and his sixth Regnal year, (which is probably what is given in the document), extended from 1st Jamadi II, A.H. 1042 to 30th Jamadi I, A.H. 1043. He ordained that Ilahi dates and months may be used, but (that) they should occupy a subordinate place. The Ilahi date must be that which fell between the above two Mahomedan dates. (On this matter I would refer to Prof. Hodiwala's very excellent Paper on the 'Julus Years of Shah Jehan in his Historical Studies in Numismatics published in 1923')".

What a profound and close study of the systems of Christian, Mahomedan and Ilahi Calendars, Moghul History and Persian language, does this illuminatory note disclose.

As in duty bound, I sent a copy of the book to him. He sent me the following reply which I have preserved in all reverence and regard.

Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill Bombay, 13th June 1932.

Dear Mr. Jhaveri,

On my return today here from Matheran, I find your book on Imperial Firmans. a most pleasant surprise. The book seems to have been left at my house some days when there was none there save the servants. They wrote to me that somebody had sent a Quran for me. I was wondering who had done so and why. I must apologise for the delay in acknowledging receipt. I am very greatly obliged to you for sending the work to me, as it will afford very interesting and instructive reading; still more obliged for your kind mention of me in the Preface, on account of the little help I could render. The work must be a costly one and I shall be very happy to purchase it if you will kindly let me know the price. Again thanking you for sending it to me, with best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely
(Sd.) M. P. Khareghat.

What simplicity of heart and nobility of temper does this letter disclose? I am not wrong in mourning the loss of such a friend as a personal loss, and also a loss to Literature, irreparable for some time at least when another Khareghat is given to us

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Facsimile of a letter written by M. P. Khareghat Esq. to Diwan Bahadur Krishnalal M. Jhaveri.

#### GREEK MONOGRAMS

## By G. E. L. Carter, B.A. I.C.S. (Retd).

Among the unsolved problems of archaeology must be counted the so-called Greek monograms. The monograms are symbols in apparently mathematical form stamped on coins of Greek origin. Various explanations have been offered as to their meaning, the commonest being that they are the marks of Athenian moneyers. One thesis is that they are hieroglyphic, and should be interpreted on lines similar to the Egyptian hieroglyphs.

If however we come to their study, surveying the whole field of Greek influences, we find we are limited by striking facts. No monogram is earlier than the Greek invasion of Persia...let us take B. C. 350 as the limiting year. No monograms are found on Roman coins, with the single exception of a Roman coin issued in Greece by L. Caesius, an early Roman administrator there, and no monogram is found on coins struck in Egypt. On the other hand, monograms are found on Gallo-Belgic coins both of Gaul and Britain, on the Graeco-Bactrian, Indo-Greek and Kushan coins, but not on those of the Western Kshatrapas. They are also found on Gnostic gem-stones of Egypt.

We also know that certain symbols of similar form bore specific names, best exemplified by that known as Pháni. Pháni was so called, because its obvious elements could be resolved into the Greek letters representing the word Pháni, which may well be translated Illumination.

Moreover, the whole science of mathematics as we know it, and as it was developed up to comparatively recent times was a purely Greek science, deriving from the Pythagorean philosophy of Number as the ultimate reality. This philosophy receded in importance with the growth of Platonism, which indeed adopted much of the older teaching, with the ultimate result of the philosophy becoming a mere handmaid of magical practice, and the science becoming the intellectual basis of the material civilisation of the world. Any study of the life and times of Euclid, the systematiser of mathematical learning current then,

must take into account both the love by Greeks for the enunciation of mathematical problems, porisms, of which no literary form has survived, and for the development of ingenius machines for working out mathematical problems, the most famous of which was probably that for finding two means between two extremes; this was hung in the temple at Delos.

If now we approach the study of the monograms with these facts in our minds, we may see in these symbols a simple means of spreading throughout the known world formulae for the development of further mathematical lore, and possibly also of esoteric moral teachings. In figures 1 and 2 I show how the symbol, known as Pháni, can be made to act as the carrier of the triad of truths adopted by St. Paul as Faith, Hope and Charity, by St. Augustine as Eternal Truth. In figures 3 and 4, based on an earthwork in Salisbury Plain, I show how the properties of an ellipse can be demonstrated by means of Pythagoras' Theorem.

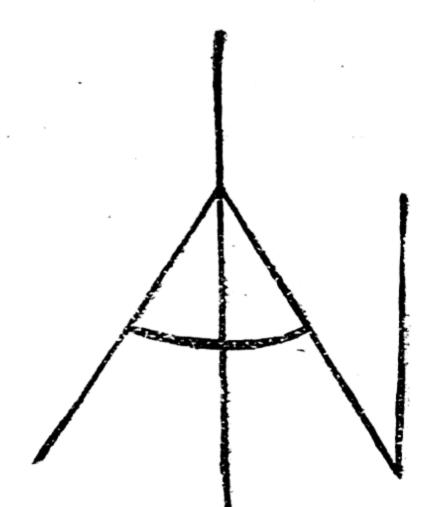
Now such development of symbols will often be simply a priori. I mean the figures and development are true, whether the inventors of these figures intended such development or not. In short, we must also indicate, if we can, that we are working on the lines of the makers' intentions. In the case of the ellipse, we find intention in that the minor axis of the whole figure is marked by a fine tumulus at some short distance from the earthwork. In the case of the monograms, it is often possible to observe, incorporated in the figure, a tiny circle, or a cross or ellipse, to indicate in what way the figure must be developed. Thus the presence of a tiny circle would show that the final figure must have reference to the properties of a circle; of a cross, to the use of perpendiculars in solving the problem, and similarly of an ellipse.

It is impossible to show here the results which I have worked out for myself. It may suffice to say that in several cases the

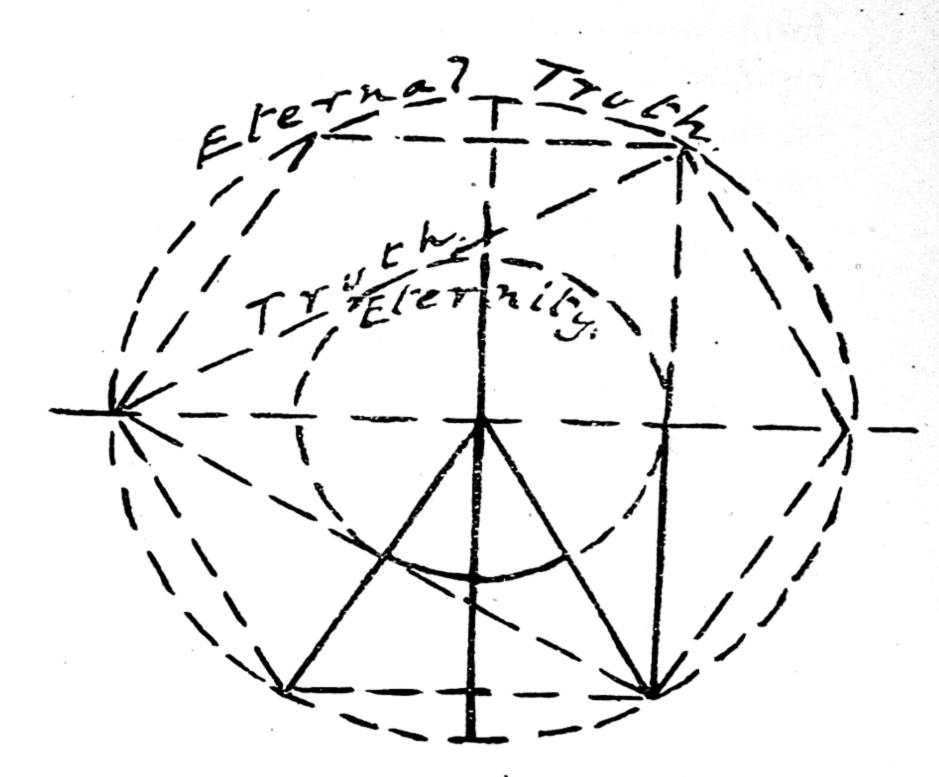
<sup>1.</sup> This earthwork, figured in the O S. maps, is on lowlying ground, encloses about 25 acres and is surrounded by a bank only a foot or two high. It could have served no purpose of defence or habitation, and is in fact only understandable as an object lesson in cryptic mathematics.

formulæ as shown on Gallo-Belgic coins correspond with formulæ on Greek or Graeco-Persian coins as question and answer; that is, the full development of the formulæ in either case being the same.

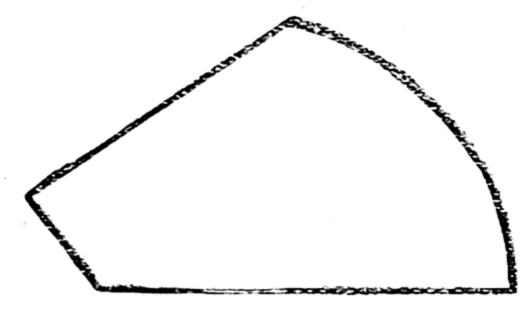
Now this is a study, which I suggest is eminently one for a race deriving from Persian ancestry, for a race now domiciled. as the Indo-Greeks were, in India. Equally is it desirable that if an independent check of the proposition is to be made, I should not here expound the results which I have obtained. If the working of all parties is correct, then the answers will always be the same, and we shall ultimately arrive at the conclusion that in the so-called monograms the Greeks of Alexandrian culture developed a marvellous means of disseminating throughout the world some of the mathematical and intellectual learning, which, though possibly of local origin, could be made freely available to all who were competent to understand. Coins pass very freely from hand to hand, and by such passing, those in the remotest parts could feel their community of interest with those near the centre of things. The ultimate ascendency of Rome brought the technique to an end. Náhápána, the great Satrap refused to "disfigure" his coins; it is certainly a truism that his coins were based on the Roman denarius. It remains to be seen how late the symbol was employed on local coins in India. In the far west, the Anglo-Saxon pagan sceattas (say 6th Cent.) still showed the mathematical formulæ, and ultimately, as we know, the great school at York supplied in the person of Alcuin the teacher of Mathematics to Charlemagne's court at the end of the 8th century.



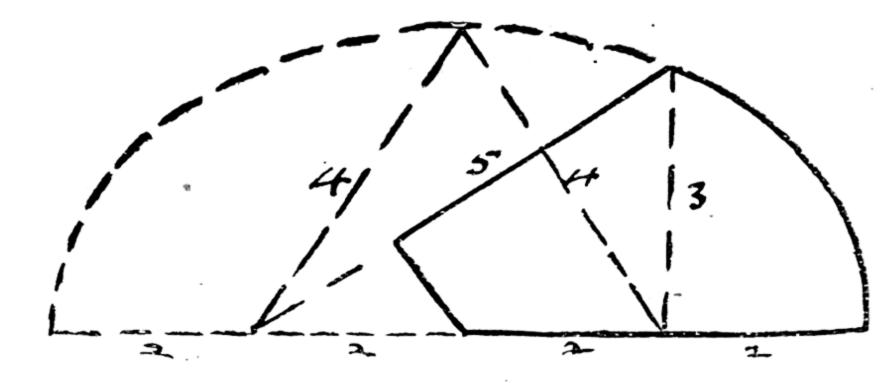
1. The Symbol PHANI.



2. Synthesis of the symbol Phani.



3. The earthwork at Druids Head Farmnear Stonehenge.



4. Synthesis of a formula demonstrating the properties of an ellipse.

## THE SCYTHIAN STELA OF THE BARODA MUSEUM

A Monument of the Earliest Scythian Invasion into Gujarat.

## By-Dr. H. Goetz.

In 1935 Mr. V. R. Talwalkar, head of the P.W.D. Baroda State, found at the village Salad on the Dādhar River, in the Baroda Division, a curious stone slab (Fig. A.) and handed it over to the Archæological Section of the Baroda State Museum (no. Ac. 2/125). It is an irregular, dark grey fragment of a stela, at present  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches high,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick, rounded at the top, but broken and incomplete at the right side and bottom. Its upper part is filled by a half-round relievo, or rather a drawing with a slightly deepened background. It represents a tree, flanked on both sides by curious animals, distantly resembling heraldic bulls. Unfortunately its purpose cannot be ascertained.

Mr. Talwalkar already had thought that this slab somehow be connected with Iranian civilization, but could determine neither its historical position nor the character and origin of its Īrānian features. The relief in fact offers considerable difficulties to an analysis, as it is a rather clumsy work of "folk art", in which the traditional motives had no more been understood and were mixed up in the crudest manner. Yet this very fact will prove of great value in determining the origin of the stone slab. The chief motif, however, can still be discerned easily: The "Tree of Life" between two theriomorphic demons, a subject very common in Assyro-Babylonian and Achæmenian art. Thus any attempt to connect this stone fragment with the immigration of the Parsis into Gujarāt is out of question, as at that time the motif of the "Tree of Life" between two demons had since long been transformed into a very different heraldic device. Bull demons, on the other hand, are very common in Assyro-Babylonian art, but they always have a human head crowned by a mitre. But the kneeling bulls flanking the pillar capitals in the Achæmenian palaces at Persepolis, Pasargadae and Susa (fig. B. 4) reveal a certain resemblance with the demon figures of our relief. Thus

it must be contemporary with Achæmenian art or only a few centuries younger, when the Achæmenian tradition was not yet forgotten in popular art.

However, the comparison with the Achamenian bull capitals does not work out completely. It is rather difficult to say whether the demons of our relief are really bulls or lions with bull heads, and whether their long, slim snouts or their long spiral horns can really be those of bulls. It is also difficult to determine as what must be interpreted the curious double crescents trimmed with short rays or points which cover their fronts, shoulders and thighs, whether they are manes, wings or what else. Yet our comparison with the bull capitals proves a pointer in the right direction. For Achæmenian att has evolved a considerable number of fancy animals, where human and animal bodies, bulls, lions, griffons, eagles, ibex, goats, stags scorpions are fused into very impressive hieratic symbols. These fancy beings are known to us not so much from the big monuments, than from the small works of decorative art, signet rings, jewellery and silver ornaments, cups, plates, rhytons, etc., many of which were found not in Persia proper, but in Turkistan, Armenia, the Caucasus and the South-Russian steppes then occupied by the Scythian tribes. Amongst these a bracelet and a silver rhyton from the Oxus treasure (figs. B. 1 and B. 3)1. and another rhyton from the Kubān territory north of the Caucasus, now in Leningrad (fig. B. 2)2 are of special interest for us. The first two show such a fancy animal, with a griffon's head, ibex horns and lion body, the first with long, the second with rudimentary heraldic wings. The animal of the Kubān rhyton finally has a goat's head, horns and beards, but a lion's body partly covered with scales or feathers, and with heraldic wings. There we have, in fact, all the features of the theriomorphic demons of the Baroda slab. The long ibex horns of the latter are to be found also in the two pieces

<sup>1.</sup> O. Dalton, The Treasure of the Oxus, London 1905, pls. 16 and 22; Fr. Sarre, Die Kunst des Alten Persien, Berlin 1923, pls. 50 and 47. 2. Sarre, op. cit. pl. 48.

from the Oxus treasure. The small circles along the neck are the last remnants of the curled mane of the animals on the armilla from the Oxus Treasure and on the Achæmenian capitals; the indented double crescent above the eyes may correspond either to the front ornament of the bulls crowning those Achæmenian capitals or, in a misunderstood and dislocated position, to the hieratic hair curls under the jaws of the same bulls or of the goat rhyton from the Kubān; the shoulder crescent may possibly mean the same curls, or may have taken the place of the former rudimentary wings; the last crescent on the thighs corresponds to an ornament very common on this part of the body in Mesopotamian, Īrānian and early Central Asian art. The curious form of the peculiar snout is easily explained by the slimmer types of the griffon's and goat's heads; and that the rest of the body is intended to represent a lion, must be obvious from the other just cited and much better pieces. The general character of the demons on the Baroda stela, therefore, is beyond any doubt. The ambiguity and overlapping of the single ornament motives, on the other hand, proves that the artist was no more aware of their meaning and fused them together into one, misunderstood type, following an old and already dim tradition alien to India.

For if the artist would have understood his work, he would perhaps have discovered that at least some of these animals were well-known to contemporary Indian art. Winged lions, horses, stags, elephants and leogryphs are a common feature on the railings at Mathurā<sup>1</sup>, Bodh-Gayā<sup>2</sup>, Sānchī<sup>3</sup> etc., possibly an innovation of the Maurya Period inspired by Īrānian art. But they had become so completely Indianized and further evolved in a purely Indian spirit, that the icono-

<sup>1.</sup> V. A. Smith, The Jain Stupa and other Antiquities from Mathura, Allahabad 1901, pls. 20, 38, 72.

Coomaraswamy, La Sculpture de Bodhgayâ, Paris 1935, pls. 12, 13,
 52.

<sup>3.</sup> Marshall-Foucher, The Monuments of Sanchi, pls. 24, 26, 30, 32, 41-44, 47, 56-59, 62 f, 69, 89, 102.

graphic relation had become very loose, and that an artistic link could no more be established. Both from an iconographic and stylistic point of view the theriomorphic demons of the Baroda stela are not Indian, but a distant echo of Achæmenian art.

But how could this Achæmenian art tradition come to Gujarāt? We have already observed that the phantastic animals underlying its design had been in fashion much more in the outlying provinces of the Achæmenian Empire, especially in the Scythian steppes to its North, than in its centres. It may be that the orthodox Zoroastrianism of the court had expressed a moderating influence on suchlike demoniac imageries. Achæmenian art had been the model for all refinements in Scythian life, and amongst the Scythians it must have continued to be cultivated, after the empire of Dareios III had been overthrown by Alexander the Great, in the same way as after the Muslim conquest Sāsānian civilization survived for several centuries in those same outlying steppes and mountain valleys. The famous Treasure of the Oxus! has proved that outside the great cities late Achæmenian cups, bowls, rhytons, scabbard, and jewellery of every type were still used in Bactria up to the fall of the Greek kingdom. Buddhist monuments in the Tarim Basin<sup>2</sup> have shown that in the first millennium A.D. the Īrānian tribes of Eastern Central Asia belonged to the sphere of Sāsānian civilization in spite of strong Hellenistic, Buddhist-Indian and Chinese cultural influence. Though we know very little of the cultural conditions prevailing in earlier times, we have all the reasons to infer that also the Scythian conquerors of Bactria still had some provincial form of Achæmenian civilization. For what the coins and other monuments of the later Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and Kushān kingdoms reveal, is a purely Īrānian culture tradition which was only slowly assimilated by Indian civilization.

However, the best and most instructive of these monuments

<sup>1.</sup> O. Dalton, The Treasure of the Oxus, London 1905.

<sup>2.</sup> Cf. the works of Sir Aurel Stein, A. von Le Coq, Grünwedel, Sven Hedin, Pelliot, etc.

belong to a later period when the Scythian power was already strongly established in India. If anywhere, we can expect early monuments only in the South, along the invasion route of the Scythians through Seistan, Lower Sind, Cutch and Gujarat (Surastrene). Not a hundred years separate the Scythian invasion of Gujarāt (ca. 100 B.C.) from the reign of Euthydemos of Bactria (died ca. 190 B.C.) under whom the "Oxus Treasure" was lost or buried near the crossing of the Kabadiān-Tāshkurgān Road over the Amū Daryā. A hundred years is a time short enough that the Achæmenian traditions still alive in the Græco-Bactrian kingdom could find an echo in the folk art of the Scythians. True, the echo which we find in the Baroda stela is crude enough. But this is exactly what we must expect, for the artistic standards of such an invading nomadic horde cannot have been very high. We may, therefore, regard the Baroda stela as the earliest so far known artistic monument of the Scythians in India, contemporary with their first conquest of Surastrene, on the territory of which it was found. And its decoration is a last echo of the Achæmenian art tradition such as it had been alive amongst the Scythians.

And yet we may have to add a certain qualification. For it seems that even in this alien monument vestiges of a beginning Indianization can be traced. The double arch between which the motif of the "Tree of Life" flanked by the animal demons has been sandwiched, again recurs at the Kankālī Tīlā stūpa of Mathurā<sup>1</sup> and also in Gandhāra. It might thus appear that this motif was likewise brought by the Scythians from Central Asia. But it is completely unknown in Iranian art, whereas it can be easily derived from the decoration of the contemporary West-Indian cave temples. For at Bhājā, Bedsā, Nāsik, Kārlā, Mānmodā, etc. the windows of the Buddhist chaitya caves were repeated, on a smaller scale, as a facade ornament, often with a sort of perspectivic view of the wood construction of the interior ceiling. This resulted in an eccentric double arch just of the type which we find in the Baroda stela, at Mathurā and Gandhāra It seems, therefore, more probable that this arch is a gift of Western India, brought to the North by the Scythians after

<sup>1.</sup> V. A. Smith, op. cit.

their first expulsion from Ujjain 58 B. C. If, however, this is true, the Baroda stela must be older than the monuments with the same arch design at Mathurā and Gandhāra, and contemporary with at least the late West-Indian cave temples in which the original perspectivic chaitya-window ornament was still in fashion, i.e. it must be dated into the beginning of the 1st century B. C., the time of the first Scythian invasion. This double evidence increases the interest of the Baroda stela as a monument of the cultural cross currents which brought Achæmenian art to Gujarāt and West-Indian art back to the North in the chaotic age to the Saka invasions in the first century B. C.



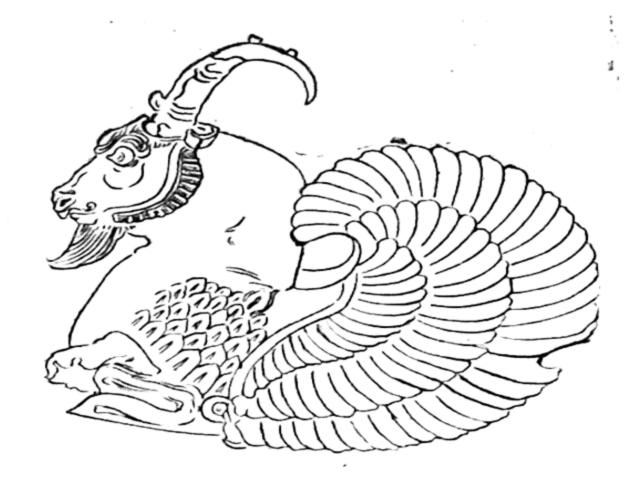
A. Scythian Stela, after 100 B. C. Baroda Museum.



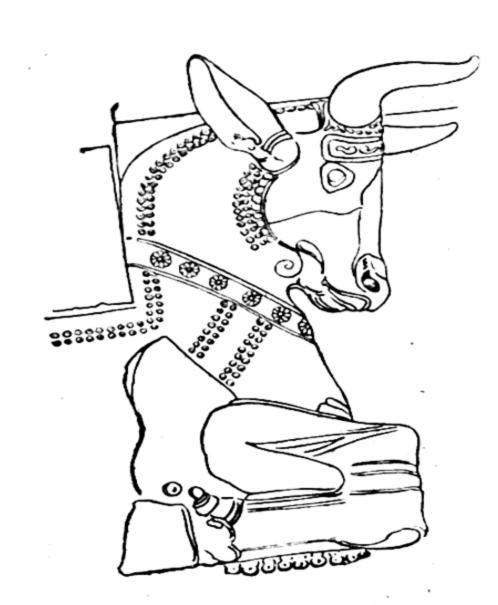
B. 1. Achæmenian Gold Bracelet (Detail), Oxus Treasure, British Museum.



B. 3. Achæmenian Silver Rhyton (Detail), Oxus Treasure British Museum.



B 2. Achæmenian Silver Rhyton (Detail), from Kubān territory, Caucasus. Eremitage Museum Leningrad.



B. 4. Pillar Capital from the palace of Artaxerxes Mnemon (404-358 B.C.) at Susa.

# SASSANIAN SEALS AND SASSANIAN MONOGRAMS

BY J. M. UNVALA, PH. D. (HEIDELBERG, GERMANY).

#### FOREWORD.

The present article forms part of a work on Sassanian seals, for which I have been gathering materials since 1934. I have examined all collections of Sassanian seals preserved in big libraries and museums of Europe and also in private collections. This work will be published later. I have embodied in this article a few passages in extenso in their English version from my paper, entitled "Empreintes de cachets sassanides", published in The Millennium of Firdawsi, the Great National Poet of Iran, Tehran 1944, pp. 90 - 95. The monograms mentioned in this article and illustrated on plates II-X are found: a) on seals pertaining to the collections of antiquities preserved in the following museums: 1) Vorderasiatische Abteilung (V. A.) des Kaiser Friedrichs Museum, Berlin; 2) Assyrian Department of the British Museum (Br. Mus.), London; 3) Coin Cabinet of the I idia Museum (Ind. Mus.), Calcutta; 4) Historical Museum, Erivan, Soviet Armenia; 5) National Museum, Florence; 6) Hermitage Museum (Herm. Mus.), Leningrad; 7) Historical Museum, Moscow; 8) Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, . quoted according to Phyllis Ackerman; 9) Cabinet des Médailles (C. M.) de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; 10) Vatican Library, Rome; 11) Archaeological Department, Simla; 12) Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; b) on seals partaining to the following private collections: 1) Mr. 'Azīz Bēglū, Tehran; 2) Mr. Hasan, Tehran; 3) Mr. Hasan 'Alā, Tehran; 3) Mr. Indjudjian, Paris; 4) Mr. Faramroz Sohrabji Khan, Bombay; 5) Morrison, quoted according to Mordtmann; 6) Mr. Ed. T. Newell, quoted according to Hans H. von DER OSTEN; 7) Prof. Friedrich Sarre, Berlin; 8) Dr. J. M. Unvala, Navsari; 9) Yale University quoted according to Charles C. Torrey; c) on seals published by A. Mordtmann and Paul Horn in ZDMG. and JRAS. Other monograms are found on: 1) Hephthalite coins; 2) on seals and bullae from Susa; 3) on a stucco-plate from Ctesiphon and on stucco-rondels from Damghan, Kish and Stakhr; 4) on the helmets of noblemen depicted on bas-reliefs of Naqshe-Rajab, Nagshe-Rustam and Nagshe-Shapur.

# A LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS OF THE TITLES OF BOOKS AND THE NAMES OF AUTHORS

ACKERMAN PHYLLIS: Sassanian Seals by PHYLLIS ACKERMAN, contributed to A Survey of Persian Art, edited by ARTHUR UPHAM Pope and others. New York 1984 Seq.

AJSL: American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature. New York.

Archaeol. Dept.: Archaeological Department.

BARBIER DE MEYNARD: Dictionnaire géographique etc. Extrait du Modjem el-Bouldan de Yaqour. Paris 1861.

BARTHOLOMAE: CHRISTIAN BARTHOLOMAE.

AirWb.: Altiranisches Wörterbuch. Strassburg 1904.

MiranM.: Zur Kenntnis der mitteliranischen Mundarten. (S. Heidelberg AW.) Heidelberg 1916 seq.

zSR.: Zum sassanidischen Recht (S Heidelberg AW.) Heidelberg 1918 seq.

Bulsara: The Laws of the Ancient Persians translated by Sohrab J. Bulsara. Bombay 1937.

CHRISTENSEN: ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN.

L'empire des Sassanides, le peuple, l'état, la cour. Copenhague 1907.

L'Iran sous les Sassanides. Copenhague 1936.

FrP.: Frahang i Pahlavik, ed...Heinrich F. J. Junker, Heidleberg 1912.

FURTWANGLER: Die antiken Gemmen. Geschichte der Steinschneiderkunst in Altertum von Adolf Furtwangler. Leipzig-Berlin MCM.

GIrPh.: Grundriss der iranischen Philologie. Strassburg 1894 seq.

HERZFELD: ERNST HERZFELD.

Paikuli: Paikuli, Monument and Inscriptions of the Early History of the Sassanian Empire. I-II. Berlin 1924.

Transactions: Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress. London, June 30 July 6, 1936.

Horn: NpEt.: Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie von Paul Horn. Strassburg 1893.

HORN U. STEINDORFF: Sassanidische Siegelsteine von Paul Horn und George Steindorff. Berlin 1891.

Hubschmann AGr.: Armenische Grammatik I. von Heinrich Hubschmann. Strassburg 1895.

JAOS.: Journal of the American Oriental Society. New York

JCamaOrInst.: Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute. Bombay.

JHS: Journal of Hellenic Studies. London.

JNSI.: Journal of the Numismatic Society of India. Bombay 1938 seq.

JRAS.: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. London.

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1

#### 1. SEALS AND THEIR IMPORTANCE.

Since remote antiquity, about 4000 B. C., seals for marking personal property and for validating documents have been employed by the early inhabitants of Susa and other ancient sites in Iran, as well as by those of ancient India, Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Syria, Palestine and Egypt. This is amply proved by the discovery of flat stone seals with geometric and animal designs in the lowest layers of the ruins of ancient Susa, and particularly by lumps of clay bearing impressions of seals found in their strata dated between 3500 and 3200 B. C. The latter were employed to close the mouths of pots, filled with grain and other commodities.

Two shapes of seals were in vogue in antiquity, flat and cylindrical. Flat seals were specially in use among the ancient Susians and other Asianic peoples. A flat seal was pressed on a levelled surface, particularly moist clay which received its impression, whereas a cylindrical seal was rolled several times on a prepared clay tablet, so that it was entirely covered with the design engraved around its surface. The tablet served thereupon, to a certain extent. the same purpose as a government stamped paper with designs in watermark or filigrane. Politcal treaties and legal and commercial documents as well were inscribed on such tablets. There is no doubt that the cylinder-seal was introduced by the early Semites, the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians in Mesopotamia, and that it travelled to foreign countries with their political and cultural influence, and that it nearly disappeared with their political eclipse. Thus, we find the use of cylinder-seals among the Elamites who were saturated with the Babylonian culture. During the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenian periods, seals attained the conoïde shape, or to be exact, the shape of a truncated cone, whose base only was engraved, and in exceptional cases a part of the surface as well, the hole of suspension was near the apex, although the cylinder-seal continued to be employed side by side. It seems that the Achaemenians used frequently facetted stones, engraved on more than one facet. A seal discovered at Susa in 1939 was engraved on a piece of beautiful bluish chalcedony with six

facets; each facet alludes to an episode of hunting, viz. : 1) an Achaemenian king charges on horseback and attacks with a spear from behind a lion leaping, 2) a dog, 3) a lion, 4) a boar, 5) a stag, 6) a mountain-goat; all these animals are shown running at full speed. This seal is a masterpiece of the glyptic art (see pl. IA). With the renaissance of the Iranian influence in art, flat seals came once again into vogue during the Parthian and Sassanian epochs in Iran and in the countries adjoining it.

#### 2. MATERIALS EMPLOYED FOR SEALS.

Seals were engraved in remote antiquity on stones of varying hardness, preferably on species of lime-stone, like alabaster and aragonite. These were found as pebbles in river-beds, rounded and flatened by natural influences. With the minimum effort, they were, therefore, adaptable for flat seals. These were button-shaped, with a perforated protuberance, or shaped like small thick disks, sometimes, theriomorphic, with a transverse hole for passing a thread of suspension. Besides lime-stone, rock-crystal, agate and haematite, and the columella or the central spiral rod of the conch were frequently employed for cylinder-seals.

The materials employed for Sassanian seals were semi-precious stones and bronze. It was probably the effect of oxidation which is responsible for the rarity of bronze seals, which were all ringshaped. The stones generally used for the purpose were carnelian, chalcedony, sardonyx, green jasper, heliotrope, lapis lazuli and haematite. These same stones were much in vogue in the early Imperial Roman period¹. Red jasper, sometimes with white spots and called porcelain jasper, amethyst, rock-crystal and garnets of beautiful and precious quality, viz. almandine and hyacinth were particularly chosen as chatons for rings of gold and silver. The garnet, ordinarily used, was of the oriental type of concavoconvex form, which occur often in river-beds. The convex side is generally engraved, and in a few exceptional cases the concave one. Amethyst, carnelian, hyacinth and sard were favourite stones for seals of kings, princes and high dignitaries of state. Ambercoloured, rather dark brown agate is most frequently emloyed for

<sup>1.</sup> Furtwängler, Die antiken Gemmen. Bd. III, p. 369.

semi-spherical and ring-shaped seals. Bluish coloured chalcedony which seems to have been the favourite stone during the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenian periods was rarely employed by Sassanian engravers. Interesting is a small carnelian seal of my collection. It is a round chaton bearing a monogram, engraved and filled in with lime, which has been made resisting by heating the stone. This technique of inlaying carnelian with lime has been encountered at Susa as early as in the twenty-third century B. C., and still earlier at Mohenjo-Daro in Sind.

In this connection, an extract from a detailed description of the four seals of Anoshirwan, Chosroes I, and of the nine seals of Eberwiz, Chosroes II, given by Mas'udi, would be interesting. He says that of the four seals of Anoshirwan, three had the chatons of red ruby, shining like fire, whereas the fourth had the chaton of turquoise<sup>2</sup>. He describes the materials of the nine seals of Eberwiz as follows: the first was a diamond ring with a chaton of red ruby; the second was a gold ring with a chaton of carnelian; the third was a gold ring with a chaton of onyx; the fourth was a gold ring with a chaton of rose-coloured ruby; the fifth had a chaton of Bahreman ruby, which is the most beautiful stone as regards its colour, its purity and its price; the ruby was fastened between a pearl and a diamond; the sixth had a chaton of Chinese iron; the seventh had a chaton of bezoar; the eighth had a pearl as chaton; the ninth was an iron ring<sup>3</sup>. Finally, it should be noted that as no ornaments of diamond and ruby have been discovered up to date from ruined sites of the ancient Orient and Egypt, it seems highly probable that the purest rock-crystal had been taken for diamond, and the flawless garnets of different shades of red for rubies.

## 3. SHAPES OF SASSANIAN SEALS.

"Sassanian seals show the result of the ancient oriental tradition, influenced by the late Roman shape and technique. It was customary in the East from very ancient times to carry a seal hanging from a ribbon or a ring". They adopted, therefore,

<sup>2.</sup> Macoudi, Les Prairies d'or. Tome II, p. 204.

<sup>3.</sup> MAÇOUDI, op. cit., II, p. 228.

<sup>4.</sup> FURTWANGLER, op. cit., p. 369.

ten different shapes which are briefly described and illustrated by P. Horn and G. Steindorff in Sassanidische Siegelsteine, pp. IV and V, as follows: 1) Semi-spherical. Such seals have a tiny transverse hole in which an iron or bronze ring was passed; the ring served the purpose of the knob of the seal. 2) Semi-spherical, but somewhat narrower at the base which was engraved. Such seals have a big hole and a ring as in No. 1. 3). Ring-shaped; but the hole is too small for passing a finger through it. Seals of this shape are very frequent. They also were fastened to an iron or bronze ring. 4) Ring-shaped; the sides are incised with geometrical designs, like curved lines, small circles, etc. They also were fastened to an iron or bronze ring. 5) Oval, with convex back. 56) Oval and flat, with slantic sides. 7) Oval, with engraved surface convex. This shape is the opposite of No. 5. 8) Oval, with engraved surface convex; the back is concave. 9) Egg-shaped, the engraved surface is more convex. 10) Square and flat, with slantic sides. The stones of the seals of the shapes Nos. 6-9 were set in rings as chatons (see pl. IB).

## 4. THE TECHNIQUE, STYLE AND DESIGNS OF SASSANIAN SEALS.

Sassanian seals show the familiar technique of engraving by first indicating the outlines or rather the outstanding points of the design with dots made by drilling with a revolving blunted tool (la bouterolle), which might have been moistened and supplied with fine sand or emery powder, and then joining the dots with more or less deeply incised lines. The effect produced by the impression of a seal thus engraved was that of a conventional representation of the zodiacal signs and other constellations. It is doubtful whether the Sassanian artist used the drill (l'archet) even for the finest piece of engraving. Seals of the earlier epoch are remarkable for their Hellenistic style, noted for the precision in the execution of the designs and their depth, whereas those of the later epoch, with very few exceptions, seem to be the works of indigenous

<sup>5.</sup> The intaglio shape of seals must have been introduced in Iran in the Seleucid period, although no seal of this period has been discovered there up to date. The Parthian Arsacids who adopted and kept up the Hellenstic style had also preserved the intaglio form, as is attested by the hyacinth intaglio of an Arsacid king of Parthia, preserved in the Grand Ducal Cabinet of Gotha. This same intaglio form of seals was preferred by the early Sassanian sovereigns.

artists, lacking in force and precision. Only a few necessary lines were considered sufficient to outline the design.

"As regards the designs of the Sassanian glyptique, they have been borrowed from the late Roman and to a great extent from the Ancient Persian traditions. This is quite natural, as the Sassanian civiliation is inspired by the old Iranian culture. Thus we have again Achaemenian legendary creatures, the human-headed winged bull, the winged lion, and the griffin; the recumbent stag with the head turned to the back reminds us of the tradition of the Scythic art". A peculiar feature of the Sassanian style is the development of the flutterring effect of the clothes, especially of the ribbons of the diadem, and the supporting of the lower half of the bust, which is always de face with the head turned to right, from shoulder to sholuder, on wings or on fillets flutterring upwards, or of envelopping the whole bust in a wreath-like ornament. This fillet with flutterring ends is frequently found round the neck of recumbent moutain-goat or stag; again, the wings and wreath-like ornament are not seldom employed as a device for framing animal and other designs.

Phyllis Ackerman seems, in an article, on Sassanian Seals, to be of opinion like many western archaeologists that an Oriental cannot free himself in the matter of artistic expression from his religious beliefs, and that therefore, all his artistic creations should be explained only by constant references to these beliefs. She does not admit the borrowings of designs from the Babylonian, Assyrian, Achaemenian and Hellenic arts. She sees in a large variety of designs of Sassanian seals nothing but astral symbols or symbols of astral deities, particularly the Sun and the Moon gods<sup>7</sup>. In short, she denies the Sassanian artists the right to depict those animals, birds, reptiles and insects, which were familiar to him as designs of seals, and the right to borrow from the artistic repertoires of older periods fabulous and legendary creatures. To be sure, the Sassanian artists were not so naïve as she supposes them to have been.

We must admit, however, that many reverse-designs of Parthian copper coins point to religious beliefs of the Parthians. But that

<sup>6.</sup> FURTWANGLER, op. cit., p. 370.

<sup>7.</sup> A Survey of Persian Art, pp. 788-789.

case is quite different, firstly, because the Parthians had identified many Greek deities with the divine beings of their pantheon owing to their proneness for eclectism, and secondly, because they had simply borrowed many reverse-designs of the Seleucid coinage. It is a known fact that apart from the crescent and the star, which are the symbols of the Moon and the star Venus, and the Taurus sign, the Sassanian coinage is lacking in other astral symbols. Among the Zoroastrian religious symbols, occurring on Sassanian coins, we have the symbol of the Frohar and the head of the Atur Yazat, emerging from the flames on the fire-altar. The latter has been interpreted by some numismatists, like J. DE MORGAN, as the Frohar, the image of Ohrmazd (s. Manuel de Numismatique Orientale, fasc. II. Paris 1924, p. 311). That it is the Atur Yazat is proved by a seal of the Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, No. 1338, L. France c. 2971. There is another seal of the Kaiser Friedrichs Museum of Berlin, V. A. 2794, which depicts radiated Mithra, the Yazat presiding over the light that radiates from the Sun, riding in a chariot drawn by two Pegasi. This design is borrowed rather from the Greek mythology. It is that of Apollo riding in his quadriga.8 The inappropriate legends, accompanying these designs are sufficient to prove this borrowing. Again, the representations of Mithra and Anāhita which are known from the bas-reliefs of Tāq-i-Bostān and Nagshe-Rustam are wholly absent on Sassanian seals, although, as we have grounds to believe, they enjoyed a special cult among the Sassanians. What concerns Verethraghna, apart from the fact that the theophore name Varharān was borne by six Sassanian sovereigns, we have no record of his representation, either on bas-reliefs or on seals, and yet he was considered to be a divine hero of the Sassanian period. A number of seals have as their designs the upraised right or left hand de face, very often in the famous vitarkamud $r\bar{a}$ . This pose of the hand is also called  $vy\bar{a}khy\bar{a}na$  or  $cinmudr\bar{a}$ . It is described by T. A. G. Rao in his Elements of Hindu Iconography, vol. I, part 1, p. 16, as follows: "The tips of the thumb and the

<sup>8.</sup> It seems that the artist has used certain conventions in depicting this design, viz. the bust of Mithra for his whole figure, and the two small disks for the chariot itself, and perhaps two Pegasi for the four horses of the quadriga.

fore-finger are made to touch each other, so as to form a circle, the other fingers being kept open. The palm of the hand is made to face the front". Here, the Indian influence is evident. The hand is not extended and it cannot be the ancient emblem of the sky-god, which, according to Ackerman, has survived down to the present day in Eastern superstition. One important point should not be forgotten, viz. that the seals in question are called Sassanian, because they appertain to the Sassanian period and are works of the artists of that period, and that their designs have not necessarily an exclusive connection with the Zoroastrian religious beliefs. This is proved by several seals with Syrian Christian names, sometimes accompanied by the Christian cross design.

In this connection, it must be noted that seals of the Parthian period are little known, or we may rather say that it is nearly impossible to distinguish between Parthian and Sassanian seals. The distinction which Herzfeld makes between these two catagories of seals is tenable only when certain seals can definitely be classed as Parthian on onomastic and epigraphic grounds, viz. when they bear legends in the Pahlavik or the so-called Chaldaeo-Pahlavi script. Neither the materials nor the epigraphy, nor even the designs and their style can be taken as sure means of making a distinction between Parthian and Sassanian seals. A Russian scholar thinks of distinguishing between purely Iranian seals, on which the designs are mostly treated summarily with lines without any relief, as on late Parthian and Sassanian coins, and seals showing foreign influences, especially Greek and Roman, on which the designs in more or less low relief are predominant. But this distinction is also hazardous, because in the glyptic art there is always a tendency towards archaism, as modern cameos and intaglios imitating ancient Greek and Roman motifs amply show. Moreover, what we might consider as proofs of antiquity might be nothing else but provincialisms in style.

The following is a list of designs of Sassanian seals:

1) Man, standing, walking, running or sitting; horseman, galloping; male bust; woman, in one of the four above-mentioned attitudes;

<sup>9.</sup> See JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA, The Development of Hindu Iconography. University of Calcutta, 1941, p. 278.

<sup>10.</sup> A Survey of Persian Art, p. 788.

female bust; groups of two or more men or women; family group man, woman and child; right or left hand in the vitarkamudra. 2) Animals, recumbent, standing, walking or running: ape; zebu, buffalo; horse, donkey; ibex, mountain-goat; stag, deer, gazelle; camel; elephant; dog, fox; hare; boar; lion, often attacking a bull, or lion's protoma; panther; hyena; bear; rat; three or more heads of bovidae or capridae, joined at the neck by a ring. 3) Birds: fowl, cock; duck; turkey; peacock; ostrich; stork, crane, heron; eagle, sometimes attacking a fowl. 4) Fish. 5) Insects, scorpion. 6) Reptiles. 7) Tree, fruit, flower. 8) Legendary creatures: winged man; winged woman; winged human-headed bull, winged bull; winged horse or Pegasus; winged lion or its protoma; griffin; human-headed bird, perhaps the Sīmurgh; Chimera. 9) Cult objects: fire-altar, the same with the Atur Yazat in the flames; cross; ankh; column. 10) Luminaries: star, crescent. 11) Monograms. 12) Legends: Pahlavi, rarely Syriac or Hephthalite.

Only a few royal seals have been known upto date. One is a seal representing an Arsacid king, not Mithridates I of Parthia as Furtwängler had supposed, on which Shapur I had a legend engraved in his name. On another, Varharān IV is shown standing on the prostrate body of an enemy. Yet another portrays the regent-mother Dēnakē, queen of Yazadagard II. A seal of Varharān Kermānšāh was engraved in his name before he ascended the Sassanian throne. Several seals of the dignitaries and functionaries of the state have been published, along with the royal seals, by E. Herzfeld in Paikuli, pp. 77-82. Several others have been known from the Sassanian bullae discovered in Iran and Iraq (see below).

#### 5. SASSANIAN MONOGRAMS.

Phillis Ackerman in the article on Sassanian seals mentioned above calls the Sassanian monograms "abstract geometrical motifs" and says about them as follows: "They are built up of a

<sup>11.</sup> Grand Ducal Cabinet of Gotha. Hyacinth intaglio. cf. note 5. It is reproduced in Ferdinand Justi, Geschichte des alten Persiens, Berlin 1879, p. 184, and in Friedrich Sarre, Die Kunst des alten Persiens, Berlin 1923, p. 57, fig. 17 (twice enlarged). Furtwängler, op. cit. p. 371.

<sup>12.</sup> Br. Mus. 119352; Herzfeld, Paikuli, p. 74, fig. 20.

<sup>13.</sup> Herm. Mus. Herzfeld, op. cit., p. 75, fig. 30.

<sup>14.</sup> Collection of the Duke of Devonshire; Herzfeld, op. cit. p. 78, fig. 35.

topped with a crescent or sometimes a bull's horns or ram's horns. They are regarded either as uninterpretable symbols<sup>15</sup> or as monograms fabricated of Pahlavi letters and one has been read as Bahrām<sup>16</sup>, though most of them remain undecipherable. They are used as emblems on the casques of important nobles and officials whose portraits we have in the rock-carvings and on seals; and in this connection they have been thought to be badges of rank<sup>17</sup>. They are likewise conspicuous on stucco ornaments".<sup>18</sup>

From a minute study of the Sassanian monograms, we cannot but notice one salient feature, viz. that if we draw a vertical line in the middle of a monogram, dividing it into two equal halves, the right half counterbalances the left one, only that the latter has its elements oriented to the left, like the famous monogram for the Louis's of France ][. In other words, the two halves are quite symmetric. The chief elements of the monograms are the following: horizontal, vertical, curved or slantic lines, brackets, crescents, bull's horns or ram's horns, triangles, rhomboids, small circles and hearts. The last four elements serve often as the middle link between the two halves of the monogram, the upper and the lower, whereas a circle or a triangle is sometimes placed between the horns of the crescent forming the top of monograms.

As said above, a few simple monograms adorn the casques of noblemen, as on the bas-relief of Naqshe-Shapur, Naqshe-Rajab and Naqshe-Rustam. One hundred and one monograms are accompanied by legends and one hundred and twenty have no legend. There are only nineteen monograms (group, No. xx) which can be possibly interpreted as proper names, of which one on a seal of the British Museum, No. 120254, is undoubtedly composed of the six letters  $\check{S}HP(U)HRI$ , forming the name  $\check{S}ahpuhar\tilde{e}^{19}$ . Some

<sup>15.</sup> Von Der Osten, Ancient Oriental Seals, p. 144.

<sup>16.</sup> Herzfeld, op. cit., p. 78, fig. 35; amethyst of Varharān Kermānšāh; cf. note 14.

<sup>17.</sup> Christensen, L'empire des Sassanides, p. 90; L'Iran sous les Sassanides, p. 203.

<sup>18.</sup> A Survey of Persian Art, pp. 805-806, pl. 174 A - C, fig. 279 b.

<sup>19.</sup> The suffix  $\bar{e}$  is used also for the casus rectus (nominative); comp.  $martb\bar{n}t\bar{e}$  magu,  $b\bar{a}pak\bar{e}$  magu (C. M. 1375 and 1368, Reg. D. 3397); Bartholomae, Miran M. V., pp. 37-38.

monograms are enclosed either in a wreath-like ornament or in a circle of elongated dots.

In the facsimile plates II-x, the arrangements of the monograms in twenty groups is self evident; each group has a particular element which is found common in all monograms pertaining to it. Again, the development from the simplest to the highly complicated monograms have been followed as methodically as possible.

#### II

## BULLAE WITH IMPRESSIONS OF SASSANIAN SEALS.

Bullae with impressions of Sassanian seals have been discovered from time to time in the ruins of ancient Susa. bullae found in a drainage-well on the Acropolis in 1925 have been published by P. Casanova in Rev. d'Assyr. Paris 1925, vol. XXII, 3e partie, pp. 135-140. Several other bullae were found on the Royal City in 1935 and 1936. In September 1934, I read a paper on the Sassanian bullae from Susa before the International Congress of Orientalists held at Tehran on the occasion of the Millenary Festival in honour of Firdawsi, the great national poet of Iran<sup>21</sup>. Similar bullae from Baghdad have been published by Charles C. Torrey in an article, entitled "Pehlevi impressions from Yale Collection", JAOS., vol. 52, seal 1932, pp. 201-207, and several others from Iran and Iraq by E. Herzfeld in a paper entitled "Notes on the Achaemenid coinage and some Sassanian mint-names" in the Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress. London, June 30-July 6, 1936, pp. 416-426. Such bullae have been also found in the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum in Old Shiraz about a decade ago.

The bullae are lumps of fine-grained dried clay, somewhat black in colour, and round or rather elliptical in shape, with a transverse hole. Their diametre varies between 30 mm. and 65 mm. It was with these bullae that packages of merchandise,

<sup>20.</sup> I have included in these plates seven monograms occurring on Hephthalite coins with Pahlavi lengends of the fifth century A.D., which clearly show the Sassanian influence, (JNSI., vol. IV, part 1, p. V).

<sup>21.</sup> J. M. Unvala, Empreintes de cachets sassanides, pp. 90-95.

either in transit or for depot, were sealed by state-officials, sometimes also by the owners and witnesses, with their respective seals. Thus, these lumps of clay served the purpose of the modern sealing-wax. The other side of the bullae shows often fingerprints, and, in some instances, the impression of the surface of the material on which they were applied. Some bullae have in the transverse hole charred remains of the string with which the packages wera tied. It is highly probable that also documents written on parchment, papyrus and similar perishable materials had one or more bullae attached to them like the famous parchments of the Parthian period from Avroman in Kurdistan<sup>22</sup>. These bullae are important for the impressions of seals of some officials of state, for the most part civil, seals which, with the exception of about half a dozen, have not been discovered up to date. It seems that these official seals had, like coins, two sides, obverse and reverse, or perhaps there were two different seals for the two sides, as the bulla No. 2 from Susa proves<sup>23</sup>. The seal of the owner had a design, often with his name inscribed around it, whereas those of witnesses were small and had as designs animals and birds, and rarely monograms. Sometimes they bore short familiar inscriptions like apastān ō yazatān, i.e. "reliance in God", corresponding to Arabic وكل على الله, rātīh "charity", rāstih "truth" and  $afz\bar{u}n$  "increase".

Upto date, the following officials of state have been known from their seals impressed on Sassanian bullae:

- (1) A rat,<sup>24</sup> i. e. "ecclesiastical chief who functioned also as
- 22. H. Minns, Parchments from Avroman, p. 22, Diagram of Parchment II.
- 23. According to P. Casanova, see above p. 56.

<sup>24.</sup> Av. ratav-"judex, judge; arbiter" (Bartholomae, AirWb. col. 1498). For the meaning, cf. Christensen, L'Iran etc., p. 307. Rat was none other than the title corresponding to "sire" or "excellency" attached also to diverse ecclesiatical offices (Christensen, L' Empire etc., p. 45, note 2). The judges (dātobars, dādhwars) also bore this title (Christensen, ibid., p. 68). The rat "judge" is often mentioned side by side with the magupat, e. g. in Mātīkān i Hazār Dātistān (MhDA. - TD. 18. 15) - pa muðr i ratān aðāp pa muðr i magupatān "with the seal of the rat or with the seal of the magupat" (Bartholomae, zSR. IV. p. 28). Bulsara renders these titles by "Spiritual Lord" and "Master of Divinity", (The Laws of the Ancient Persians, p. 470-472). For lês muðr. "seal; signet-ring", comp. Skr. muðrā; Mod. Pers. γ muhr (Horn, NpEt. p. 224). Junker considers it as pseudo-heterogram FrP., p. 113). Bulsara, op. cit. p. 471 and elsewhere, reads it mandar, i. c. "deliberate

judge", named Artaxšatr. He administered  $\overline{E}r\overline{a}n$ - $X^{v}arrah$ - $\dot{S}ahpuhr^{25}$ , Vahuman- $Artaxšatr^{26}$  and TRM- $X^{v}arrah$ - $ARKI^{27}$ , (provenance, Susa).

assignment", etc., cf. ibid., p. 630, and thinks it to be probably related to Av. 3-6 "to consider", ibid., p. 198. This seems to be rather far-fetched. Once the rat is mentioned with a hamārkar or "revenue-officer; accountant," (MhDA - 28 TD), (Bulsara, ibid. p. 505, where and in other passages he translates it by "accountant").

Ērān-X arrah-Šahpuhr means "the majesty or glory of Iran is Sahpuhr". **2**5. It was the official name of the new city of Susa. According to HAMZA ISFAHANI 52, 18) Sapor II destroyed the old city of Susa and had its ruins trampled under the feet of elephants after the supression of a revolt of its inhabitants. HAMZA calls it only Hurre Sābūr. This city is mentioned on an ancient intaglio representing a young Greek warrior, which was re-employed in the early Sassanian epoch (Ruby of Farrox▼ Sahpuhr, pl. VII, No. 152. J. Menant, Catalogue de la collection de Clerq; Herzfeld Paikuli, p. 80, No. 9). Also Herzfeld identifies  $\bar{E}r\bar{a}n$ -X\squarrah-\text{Sahpuhr} with Susa, but he attributes its foundation to Sapor I. The discovery of several bullae bearing the name  $Er\bar{a}n^-X^{\mathsf{v}}arrah^-Sahpuhr$  at Susa itself justifies this identification. Noldeke's identifiation of this Sassanian city with Karkhā, Karkhā de Lādan, whose ruins are known as  $Ev\bar{a}n$  i  $Karkh\bar{a}$  is not tenable. Karkhā de Lādan was the capital of the district called  $\bar{E}r\bar{a}n$ - $\bar{a}s\bar{a}n$ - $kirkav\bar{a}\delta$ . (Herzfeld, ibid, p. 132 and Transactions, p. 420.)

Nearly all bullae from Susa with the name  $Er\bar{a}n$ -X'arrah-Šah puhr as the circular legend have in the middle in one or two lines (AIRAN or AI/RAN) the name  $Er\bar{a}n$ . Herzfeld has proved after a comparative study of several other bullae discovered in Iran and Iraq that the latter name is an abbreviation of the official name  $Er\bar{a}n$ -X'arrah-Šah puhr.  $Er\bar{a}n$  is also found on coins along with AY = AI as mint mark. (Herzfeld, Transactions, p. 425). The abbreviations AIR, AIRA and AIRAN i. e.  $Er\bar{a}n$  are also found on Arab-Sassanian coins as the mint-marks for  $Er\bar{a}n$ -X'arrah-Šah puhr, (John Walker, A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins, London 1941, p. CVII). It should, however, be noted that in the treasure-trove of 2278 Sassanian coins, discovered at Susa in 1930/1931 and published by me in Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse, vol. XXV, Paris 1934, only 23 coins have the mint-mark  $Er\bar{a}n$ , whereas the mint-mark AY = AI was not represented by a single coin.

26. It is  $Pora\theta$  de Mesan (also Perat or Prat de Maisan) of Syriac authors, and Forat-Maisan or Forat-Baṣrā of Arab geographers. It was situated in the vicinity of the future Baṣrā, or perhaps even on its site. The official Sassanian name of this city is preserved in Syriac as Vahman-Ardašīr, and in Arabic as Bahman-Ardašīr, whose abbreviated form is Bahmansīr (J. Marquart, Eransahr, p. 41). According to Hamza (38. 1, 46. 17) Bahman-Ardašīr was situated on the banks of the Dijlat al-'Aurā in the land of Mesene, whose capital it became later on. It was

founded by Ardašīr I, founder of the Sassanian dynasty. Apologos, Arologov emrágion of the Greeks and Obolah of the Arabs, which was the renowned emporium of the Indian wares, was situated on the opposite bank of the river. (M. Reinaud, Mémoire sur le royaume de la Mésène et de la Characène, Mémoires de l'Académie, t. XXIV, pp. 197—199; Pauly-Wissowa, Real-encyclopaedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart 1846, II, p. 170). The Dijlat al-'Aurā (the Blind Tigris) is now called the Shatt al-'Arāb, but the Persians call it Bahmanšīr (Le Strange, Mesopotamia, etc.,

- (2) A  $ham\bar{a}rkar^{28}$  i.e. "revenue-officer"; accountant of  $\bar{E}r\bar{a}n$ - $X^*arrah$ - $\dot{S}ahpuhr$  and Vahuman-Artaxsatr, (provenance, Susa),
- IV, p. 43). The last name is further abbridged to Bahmašīr, Bāmašīr, the form under which the river is called at its passage near Abādān; comp. Muḥammad Ḥusain, abbridged to Māmasēn, from which Māmasēnī, the name of one of the Luri tribes.
- The reading of the name of this city remains doubtful. It occurs with 27. Ērān-X arrah-Šahpuhr and Vahuman-Artaxšīr on two seals, Bulla No. III - impression No. I and Bulla No. IV - impression No. 1 (according to P. Casanova, s. p. 56). The identification of this city founded by a certain ARKI = Arake is not easy. This personage must have been either a king or a prince of the royal blood; comp. the names of Sassanian cities, like  $Er\bar{a}n$ - $X^varrah$ -Sahpuhr,  $X^varrah$ -Artaxsir, and  $R\bar{a}m$ -Hormuzd. Two names approach the name  $Arak\bar{e}$ , 1)  $\bar{E}raj$ , the third son of the legendary king Faridun and the eponymous king of Iran, and 2) Airyak (Justi, Nb., p. 23). These two names are derived from Av. airya- "Aryan", specially "Iranian". What concerns TRM, YAQUT mentions a Taram (Tarom, Arab. الطرم, according to J. MARQUART,  $ar{E}rar{a}n\dot{s}ahr$ , p. 126) as a vast canton in the mountains between Qazwin and Gilān (BARBIER DE MEYNNARD, Dictionnaire Géographique, etc., p 131). It is watered by the Safid Rud in its middle course. It formed a part of Delum or Dailum (MARQUART, op. cit., p. 126; LE STRANGE, op. cit., p. 225). Another city Tarim, Tarm, according to the pronunciation of the people of Shiraz ( $Y_{AQ\overline{U}T}$ , 3, 532, 21) was situated on the road from Shiraz to Kirman, and from there to Hormuz (Paul Schwarz, Iran im Mittelalter, II, p. 107; Le Strange, op. cit., pp. 292, 295, see  $T\bar{a}rum$ ). This city is identical with  $T\bar{a}rav\bar{a}$  of the  $Yautiy\bar{a}$ , situated in Eastern Persis, of the Inscriptions of Bisutun (3, 5; GIrPh. II, p. 430; BARTHOLOMAE, AirWb., col. 648). It is probable that  $Taram-X^{v}arrah-Arak\bar{e}$  is identical with  $T\bar{a}rav\bar{a}$ of the Inscriptions of Darius I and with  $T\bar{a}rim$ ,  $T\bar{a}rum$  or Tarm of Arab geographers. At any rate, it must have been situated somewhere in the vicinity of Eran-Xvarrah Sahpuhr and Vahuman Artaxsīr.

Derbenda, pl. III);  $(a) \circ (b) \circ (a) \circ (b) \circ (a) \circ (a)$ 

# another $ham\bar{a}rkar$ of $M\bar{e}\check{s}\bar{u}n,^{29}$ (provenance, Iraq) and still another

amarēnītan. denominative verb, "to take into consideration").

Now, as regards the different readings of this word proposed by scholars mentioned above, two seem to be preferable, 1)  $ham\bar{a}rkar$ ,  $okar\bar{e}$ , and 2)  $\bar{a}m\bar{a}rkar$ ,  $okar\bar{e}$ . That its second part is not  $k\bar{a}r$  has been proved by epigraphy. The reading  $ham\bar{a}rkar$ , is supported by the Arm. LW. hamarakar (amarkal of Mishna), which must have been the Sassanian pronunciation, and by Arab.  $ham\bar{a}r$  of Al-Khwārazmī (s. below) and Mod. Pers.  $ham\bar{a}r$  "number, quantity, measure" (Steingass). Mid. Pers.  $\bar{a}m\bar{a}r$  (in Ms. U 5),  $\bar{e}m\bar{a}r$  (Junker, FrP. 27. 4.; p. 93) and Mod. Pers.  $\bar{a}m\bar{a}r$  (Horn, NpEt. 11) supports, on the other hand, reading  $\bar{a}m\bar{a}rkar$ . Preferable is  $(h)am\bar{a}rkar$ .

This functionary has been mentioned in Armenian sources as hamarkar (amarkal of Mishna). His complete title was perhaps  $v\bar{a}spuhr\bar{a}n-\bar{a}m\bar{a}rk\bar{a}r$ , i. e. "collector of the revenue which the state exacted from the  $v\bar{a}spuhrs$  (Christensen, L'Iran etc., p. 118). He was one of the big officials of the Sassanian empire, whose post was hereditary (Christensen, L'Empire etc., p. 28). Agathangelos (Chron. 27. 1) mentions a hamarakar dpirak "reammaraka" and another vaspurakan hamarakar (s. above),

in whose house the revenue of Isfahan was colleted, has been mentioned by Sebeos (48. 10, 13, 16) (Hübschmann, AGr. I, pp. 80 80 and 78). A šatrapāvāmārkarē, i. e. "collector of the taxes of the satraps" is mentioned in the inscriptions of Paikuli, C. 11, 5 (Herzfeld, Paikuli, p. 102, 5 and p. 130). The Ērān-amārkār was probably the deputy of the vazurk-framātār or the "commanderin-chief" (Christensen, L' Iran etc., p. 118). Again, the Pahlavi inscriptions of Derbend in Transcaucasia mention a certain Barznis (?) who was amārkar of Āturpātakān or Azerbaijan (E. A. Pachomov et H. Nyberg, Pechleviickie, etc., p. 34). Mhd. Td 27, Bulsara, op. cit. p. 503 (ch. XL. 9) alludes to "accountants of the treasury of Fire-temples", whose office has been mentioned by Al-Khwārezmi as مرافر فرون (13, 2; Merzfeld, Paikuli, p. 16-17; its Pahlavi original is xšatrahmār dipēr (cl. 13, 2; Herzfeld, Paikuli, p. 195).

29. The original of this bulla is in the Metropolitan Museum (Herzfeld, Transactions, p 420).  $M\bar{v}\bar{s}\bar{u}n$  is Mesene, the province of modern Başrā. The name is written  $M\bar{v}\bar{s}\bar{a}n$  in the new Pahlavi inscription from Naqshe-Rustam §§ 22, 24, 25 and 26 (M. Sprengling, AJSL, vol. LIII, No. 2. January 1937, pp. 126-144), and  $M\bar{v}\bar{s}\bar{a}n$  Šāh in the inscription of Paikuli (Herzfeld, Paikuli, p. 215); further, PahlB. 1502-6, (var. DPS. 50-6)  $M\bar{v}\bar{s}\bar{a}n$  (Vidēvdāt, 1. 11, Pahlavi gloss) and 50-6  $M\bar{v}\bar{s}an$  (Great Bundahišn, fol. 105 b, line 2, Bundahišn, ch. 31. 19) Arab.

 $M_{ar{e}ar{\sigma}}$ ,  $M_{ar{e}ar{\sigma}ar{\sigma}}$ . But the form  $M_{ar{e}}ar{s}\overline{u}n$  seems to have been rather current.

It is found on a seal of the Kaiser Friedrichs Museum of Berlin, No. J. 2578, bearing the legend  $B\bar{a}farrak\bar{e}$   $M\bar{e}s\bar{u}n$  magupat, i. e. "Bāfarrak, the high priest of Mesene", and in the Turfan text, M. 731, as  $M\bar{e}s\bar{o}n$  ( $M\bar{e}svan$ ?) (F. W. K. Müller, Handschriften-Reste, pp. 32, 33);  $M\bar{e}s\bar{o}n$  Khvadāy, i. e. "ruler of Mesene", bore the name  $Mihrs\bar{a}h$  (Müller, ibid. p. 83), but the title of the rulers of Mesene is  $M\bar{e}s\bar{u}n$   $s\bar{a}h$  in the inscriptions of Paikuli and Naqshe-Rustam; their names are given as Aturfarnbag and Sahpuhr respectively (Herzfeld, Paikuli, p. 215 and M. Sprengling,

 $ham\bar{a}rhar$  of  $P\bar{a}rs^{30}$ , (provenance, Iran).

- (3) A dar- $ham\bar{a}rhar^{31}$ , i. e. "accountant of the Sublime Porte" of  $Garam\bar{i}kan^{32}$  and  $N\bar{o}t$ - $Artax\bar{s}atr$ ," (provenance Iraq).
- (4) A yātakgōw-dātobar,<sup>34</sup> i.e. "solicitor-judge" of Husrav-Fāt-Karāt,<sup>35</sup> (provenance, Iraq) and a yatakgōw-dātobar i driγōśān i.e. 'solicitor-judge of the poor,'' <sup>36</sup> (provenance, Old Shiraz).
- (5) The magu(h), 37 i. e. "priest" is an official very frequently mentioned on bullae discovered in Iran and Iraq.
- op. cit., § 24, where Mɔ̃sān šāh); comp. ميشون شاه (Marquart, Ērānšahr, p. 40; Carl Salemann, Manichaeische Studien, I, p. 96). It is found in Armenian as Mēšun.
- 30. It is the province of Fars with Artaxsatr X'arrah as its capital (Herzfeld, Transactions, p. 418).
- 31. For the dar-hamārkarē, cf. Herzfeld, Paikuli, pp. 80-81,, and Transactions, p. 420. The office of this functionary is mentioned by Al-Khwārezmī as (Unvala, op. cit., p. 16).
- 32. For the bulla, cf. Hebzfeld, Transactions, p. 417, fig. 1 and p. 420. The original seal is in the British Museum, No. 119970. Garamik, Garamikan, i.e. Garamaea, is the province of which Karka de Beit Slokh, modern Kerkuk, was the seat of a bishop in the fourth century (c. Labourt, Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Perse sous la Dynastie Sassanide, 2<sup>e</sup> ed. Paris 1904, p. 20, note 6). Sahrgard was the metropolis of this province.
- 33. Not-Artaxšatr (Nod-Artaxšīrān?) is the old name of Mosul (Herzfeld, Transactions, p. 417, fig. 1 and p. 420). The reading garamīk u nod-artaxšīrān darhamārkarē, given by Herzfeld (ibid. p. 420), requires confirmation, as letter for letter, it must be garamīkan in the middle, and u not-artaxšatr dar-hamārkarē and an annelet as the circular legend. It is interesting to note an earlier reading of this legend, given by Herzfeld in Paikuli, p. 80, viz Barmīko i būt-Artaxšīrān dar-hamārk(a)rī. For Garamīkan (= Garamīkān), comp. Aturpātakan (Inscription of Der-

bend) for Mid. Pers. of Books 5900110 Aturiātakān, i. e. Azerbaijan (PahlT. I. 24. 2, 6). At any rate, -ān in nog-artausīrān of Herzfeld is missing in the bulla.

- 34. Herzfeld reads  $y\bar{a}tokg\bar{b}w\ d\bar{a}twar$  (Transactions, p. 417, s. p. 418, fig. 3). Bulsara reads the word  $datakg\bar{b}b$  and translates it by "atterney" (The Laws of the Ancient Persians, pp. 612, 613). The full circular legend on the bulla is: magu(pa)t  $y\bar{a}takg\bar{b}w\bar{c}$   $d\bar{a}tobar\ Xusr\bar{b}\bar{b}\cdot \hat{s}\bar{a}t\cdot Kav\bar{a}t$ , i. e. "the priest solicitef-judge of  $Xusr\bar{b}\bar{b}\cdot \hat{s}\bar{a}t\cdot Kav\bar{a}t$ "; it has in the middle in two lines  $XV/SR(\bar{b}\bar{b})$ .
- 35. According to Herzfeld, Transactions, p. 420, Xusrob-sat-Kavat is the district, the capital of which was Dastakirt, east of Baghdad near the Diyala river.
  - 36. Herefeld, Transactions, p. 417.
- 37. As in Savanian times, the priest (maguh) functioned very often as judge, just as in Muhammadan countries, Herzfeld considers him as filling the office of the  $q\bar{a}d\bar{i}$  (Transactions, p. 417). It is the lowest grade in the ecclesiastical hierarchy (Christensen, L'Iran etc., p. 94). On seals the word is invariably written MGVH, i. e. with a final h, which stands perhaps as a graphic sign for the stress on the preceding

- (6) The magupat, i. e. "head-priest" of  $\overline{E}$  ran-X arrah- $\dot{S}$ ahpuhr is mentioned on three bullae from Susa.
- (7) An AIITPT (astpat?)<sup>38</sup> of  $\overline{Er}\bar{a}n$ -X'arrah-Šahpuhr is mentioned on a bullae from Susa.

u (?); but we have MGVPT, i. e. magupat, Mod. Pers. mobas "high priest", without the h; Arm. LW. mog, mogpet; movpet in movpetan movpet. (Hübschmann, AGr., p. 195).

38. The word is written somewhat like αστου · A certain Bāwī, asiabed (astabadh, astpat), i. e. "le magister officiorum" or "the matter of ceremonies" of the Persians is mentioned in the year 502/503 (Pseudo-Stylites, Wright, c. 59; comp. Marquart, Erānsahr, p. 128, note 4; quoted by Christensen, L'Iran, p, 131, note 2, and p. 516). It was Kavāt I who diminished, according to E. Stein, the authority of vazurk framūtār by creating the larallel office of an astpat and then placing the direct working of the administration of the provinces under the four pāt γοspān, who took their charge from the Eran-Spāh pat (Christensen, ibid. 347). Two astpats are mentioned in Byzantine sources, one ramed Māhbīd under Kawāt I as την τοῦ μαγίστον Καν άρχην, τήν νοῦ μαγίστοςν αξίαν , and the other named Farrukhān

under Hormiadas IV as tie adtie item (Christensen, L'Iran, p. 516). As regards Pahl. ast in astpat, it is to be traced to Av. asta-, Ved. Skr. asta- "home, homeland, i.e. native land", Pahl. version ast in pah-ast "stall for cattle" (s. Bartholomae, AirWb. col. 212; Hermann Grassmann, Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda, Leifzig 1873, col. 157)

#### ADDENDA

Page 44, line 17, after 'Leningrad' add: only on those seals which had been exhibited in the Hermitage Museum on the occasion of the Third International Congress for Persian Art and Archaeology held at Leningard in September 1935, and which I could examine through the glass of show-cases. In 1936, I went for the third time to Leningrad for the sole purpose of studying the rich collection of Sassanian seals preserved in the above museum, but after long waiting, I was disappointed on learning from the curator of the Meseum that the study of the Sassanian seals had been reserved for Soviet scholars only.

Page 53, line 12, after 'design' add: and by one, Br. Mus. 119661, with a Manichaean inscription.

Page 61, note 33, line 9, after '24-2,6)' add: and Sakastan for Sahastan, i.e. Seistan on a unique coin of Shapur I acquired in Kabul in 1947.

## A DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF SEALS WITH MONOGRAMS SHOWING THEIR PROVENANCES.

Ι

- 1. Alishan: Mordtmann, ZDMG. 18, p. 32, No. 97: Bust of a bearded man on wings; monogram in field to r.; Pahl. inscrip.; diam. 7 mm
- 2. Br. Mus. 120244: Porcelain jasper. I; (Horn, ZDMG. 44, p. 654, No. 22.): Monogr. with Pahl inscrip.
- 3 Coins of Vologeses IV and Artabanus V; casque of Hazārapat (Horn u. Steindorff).
- 4 Von der Osten. No. 618: Rock crystal; globular, flattened sides, nearly circular base, back decorated, diam. 14-15 mm: Bust of a bearded man to r., we tring earrings and necklace; in field to r., monogr., Pahl. inscrip., damaged.
  - 5. Herm. Mus. 61: Garnet: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
- 6. Br. Mus. 120253: Carnelian VII; diam. 13-16 mm.; ZDMG. 43; HORN, ZDMG. 44, p 658, No. 44: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
  - 7. V. A. 1558: Carnelian. VI b: Monogr. with Pahl inscrip.
  - 8. Bas-relief, Naqshe-Rajab.
- 9. Hasan. 6: Chalcedony: Monogr. on fillets, surmounted by globe with fillets.
  - 10. Bulla from Susa. Khan: Monogr.2
  - 11. Ind. Mus. 8369: Chalcedony: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
- 12. Archaeol. dept. Simla: Amethyst: Bust of a bearded man to r., wearing diademed helmet, adorned with palmettes like those of the crown of Narseh and row of pearls on top; the man is wearing earrings and necklace: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.

#### II

- 1. Br. Mus. 120304: Ribboned agate. VII: Eagle facing, head to 1., standing in heraldic position; above, crescent and star, below, monogr. with Cufic inscrip.
  - 2. Florence. 5: Chalcedony. 1: Monogr.
- 2 bis. Vienna. IX 1645: Chalcedony. IV: Head of a lion facing; in field to 1., monogr. upside down; the whole in a wreath of branch.
  - 3. Alishan: Mordtmann, ZDMG. 18, p. 47, no. 167.
- 4. Ind. Mus. 8340: Agate. IV: Monogr, forming part of Pahl. inscrip.; comp. Ind. Mus. 8381.
- 5. Ind. Mus. 8381: Agate. 1: Duck, walking to r.; in field to r., monogram.

<sup>1.</sup> The Roman figures, sometimes with the letters a, b. or c, refer to the shapes of Sassanian seals.

<sup>2.</sup> As only casts of the seals of the collection of Mr. Khan were communicated to me, their detailed description has been omitted.

- 6. Ind. Mus. 8278: Agate. I: Monogr. encircled by two branches.
- 7. Br. Mus. 119972: Grey jasper. 1: Monogr with Pabl. inscrip.; in field to r., six-rayed star.
- 8 Br. Mus. 120259 (Horn, ZDMG. 44, p. 654, No. 21): Chalcedony set in a silver pendant: Monogr. with damaged Pahl. inscrip.; crescent between two dots.
- 9. Bagdad cast: Mordtmann, ZDMG. 31, p. 589, no. 14: Male bust to r, in field to r., monogr., Pahl. inscrip.; Bagdad cast: Mordtmann, ZDMG. 31, p. 596, no. 32: Male bust to l., before the beard, monogr, behind the head, crescent and star; Pahl. inscrip.
- 10. Erivan. 14: Carnelian. II: Monogr. in wreath, above, six-rayed star.
  - 11. Br Mus. 119680 : Bronze. II : Monogr.
- 12. Herm. Mus. 83: Chalcedony. I: Monogr. in a circle of elongated dots.
- 13. Herm. Mus. 78: Carnelian. I: Monogr. in a circle of elongated dots.
  - 14. V. A. 4007: Red jasper. III: Monogr. with Pahl inscrip.
  - 15. Ind. Mus. 8308: Agate. I: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
  - 16. Unvala. 1: Green jasper: Monogr.
  - 17. Unvala. 4: Carnelian: Monogr.
  - 18. Khan. 3: Monogr.
  - 19. Br. Mus. 119618: Garnet. VI b: Monogr:
- 20. Subhi Bey: Mordtmann, ZDMG. 18, pp 33-34 No. 101: Monogr with Pahl. inscrip.
  - 21. Br. Mus. 119650: Chalcedony I: Monogr.
  - 22. Br. Mus. 119687: Haematite. I: Monogr.; in field to r. dots.
  - 23. V. A. 4014: Niccolo set in gold ring. VI: Monogr.
- 24. Indjudjian. 1: Pale amethyst. VIII: Bust of a bearded man, wearing helmet adorned with pearls and monogr.; Pahl. inscrip.
- 25. Vienna. 906, 2585: Carnelian. V: Bust of a bearded man, wearing diademed helmet, earring and necklace; seven plaits of hair fall behind the neck; monogr. on helmet; Pahl. inscrip.
  - 26. Br. Mus. 119681: Garnet, V: Monogr. in wreath.
  - 27. Khan. 83: Monogr.
- 28. Br. Mus. 119995 (Horn, ZDMG. 44, p. 658, No 50): Lapis lazuli. VIII: Bust of a bearded man to r., wearing helmet adorned with pearls and monogr; Pahl. inscrip.
  - 29. Berlin. Stucco-rondel, diam. 53 cm.: Monogr. flanked by wings.
- 30. Torrey. A 1932, 19: Monogr., crescent on l., six-rayed star on r.; Pahl. inscrip.
- 31. Torrey. A 1932, 11: Monogr, crescent on l., eight-rayed star on r.; Pahl. inscrip.

- 32. Herm Mus. 70: Lapis lazuli. VI b: Monogr. in half wreath.
- 33. Unvala. 6: Haematite, I: Monogr.
- 34 Hephthalite coin.
- 35. Hephthalite coin.
- 36. Hephthalite coin.
- 37. Vienna. 905. IX. 112 (MORDTMANN. ZDMG. 31, p. 588, No. 9): Chalcedony. I: Bust of a bearded man to r., wearing earring and necklace in field on r., crescent, on l. monogr., below the latter, six-rayed star; Pahl. inscrip.
  - 38 Herm. Mus. 65: Sard. IV: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
  - 39. Herm. Mus. 73: Haematite. VI a: Monogr. on wings.
- 40. Br. Mus. 119665: Sard. IV: Monogr. in wreath; six-rayed star on either side.
- 41. Br. Mus. 119677: Heliotrope. I: Monogr. in a garland of vine-branch with leaves and grapes.
- 42. V. A. 1571: Banded agate, black and white. III: Monogr. on fillets.
- 42bis. 'Azīz Bēglū.: Agate ring: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.; a cross with equal branches on either side of the monogr.; another such cross in its crescent.
  - 43. Bas-relief, Naqshe-Shapur.
  - 44. V. A. 1547: Carnelian.I: Monogr., in field on r., crescent.
- 45. Ind. Mus. 8247: Agate. I: Monogr.; on r., a bird turned to 1.; on I., a scorpion with head directed towards the top of monogr., below it, Pahl. inscrip.; both the scorpion and the inscrip. are in a slantic position, and form together an angle.
- 46. Herm. Mus. 68: Garnet. VIII: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.; above, in field on r., crescent, on l., six-rayed star.
- 47. Br. Mus. 119675: Sard. II: Monogr, in wreath in form of a serpent.
- 48. MORDIMANN, ZDMG. 18, p. 45, No 155; Bust of a Sassanian king or a nobleman, wearing Parthian helment and diadem, long pointed beard; monogr. on helment; Pahl: inscrip. (Visconti, Iconographie greeque, tome III, p. 242).
- 49. Herm. Mus 128: Carnelian. VIII: Bust of a bearded man to r. in profile, wearing helmet decorated with monogr.; Pahl. inscrip.
  - 50. Moscow. r.m.μ.μ.ι.εδ 41: Haematite: Monogr. on fillets.
  - 51. Br. Mus. 119686: White carnelian. II: Monogr. in wreath.
  - 52. V A. 1553: Carnelian. V: Morogr.
- 53. Br. Mus. 119977: Chalcedony. I: diam. 15-16 mm.: Monogr., fillets on either side.
- 54. Br. Mus. 120258: Carnelian. I: diam. 8-9 mm.: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.

- 55. Ind. Mus. 8491: Carnelian II: Monogr. with fillets; above, six-rayed star; Pahl. inscrip.
- 56. Florence. Mordtmann, ZDMG. 18, pp. 15-16, No. 25: Bus of a bearded man to r., wearing helmet diademed with fillets; monogr. on helmet; Pahl. inscrip.

#### H

- 1. V. A. 1570: Haematite. I: Monogr. on fillets.
- 2. Torrey. A 1932, 8 c.: Monogr. on wings; six-rayed star on 1, fire-altar on r; Pahl. inscrip.
- 3. V. A. 2159: Green jasper. III: Monogr. on fillets; six-rayed star in the crescent of the monogr.
- 4. C. M. 1322. C. 28: Green jasper. I: Monogr. with fillets on either side.
- 4a. Ind. Mus. 8425: Carnelian. I: Monogr., an elongated dot on either side.
- 4b. Herm. Mus. 72: Haematite. I: Monogr., with a bar below the crescent.
- 5. C. M. 1321. C. 29: Chalcedony. I: Monogr.; in field on 1, Pahl. inscrip., on r., crescent and six-rayed star.
  - 6. Herm. Mus. 74: Chalcedony. I: Monogr.
  - 7. Ind. Mus. 8363: Chalcedony. I: Monogr
- 8. V. A. 2751: Agate. I; in silver clasp with a handle: Monogr.: in field above, on 1. Pahl. incrip, slantwise, on r. crescent and dot also slantwise; in field below, six-rayed star.
- 9. Torrey. A 1932, 8 a and 8 d: (two impressions of the same seal): Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
- 10. Von der Osten. 598: Carnelian. I: Head of a griffin, placed erect on a pair of wings; monogr.; border of dots.
  - 11. Ind. Mus. 8386.: Chalcedony. I: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.

#### IV

- 1. Herm. mus. 86: Haematite. I: Monogr. in wreath
- 2. Khan. 84: Monogr.
- 3. Unvala. 3: Carnelian: Monogr. on wings.
- 4. Br. Mus. 119664: White chalcedony. I.: Monogr. on fillets.
- 5. Khan. 87: Monogr., fillets on either side; a dot on either side of the crescent of the monogr.; below in field, on r. crescent, on l. six-rayed star.
  - 6. Br Mus. 119688: Carnelian. VI b: Monogr. in wreath.
- 7 V. A. 1568: Agate. I: Monogr. with fillets; in field, two fishes and leaves.
- 8. Vienna. IX. 1693: Carnelian bead. II.: Monogr., six-rayed star in its crescent.
  - 9. Khan. 89: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.

- 10. Vienna. IX. 1933: Garnet. V: Monogr. in wreath.
- 11. Ind. Mus. 135 c: Rock crystal. V: Monogr.
- 12. Mordtmann, ZDMG. 18, p 40, No. 140 (two seals): 1) Bust of a bearded man, diademed; Pahl. inscrip. 2) Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
- 13. Br. Mus. 119667: Porcelain jasper. II: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip., below in field, fillets.
  - 14. Khan. 85: Monogr. in wreath.
- 15. Khan. 15: Monogr.; in field, above on r., a small circle, below on l., six-rayed star.
  - 16. V. A. 906; Lapis lazuli, VI a: Monogr.

#### V

- 1. V A. 1566; Green Jasper, I; Monogr.; below, fillets; above in field, three elongated dots.
  - 2. Sussa 1935: Monogr. on wings; above in field, elongated dots.
  - 3. Moscow. r.m.u.u.z.28. 29: Green jasper, I.: Monogr.
  - 4. Br. Mus. 119974: Carnelian. VI. b.; Monogr.
  - 5. C. M. 1326, C. 43: Green jasper, I: Monogr. between wings.

#### VI

- 1. Khan. 86: Monogr. on fillets; Pahl. inscrip., much damaged.
- 2. V. A. 1574: Green jasper. 1: Monogr. on fillets; Pahl. inscrip.

#### VII

- 1. Khan: 13: Monogr.
- 1 a. Herm. Mus. 62: Carnelian: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
- 1 b. Herm. Mus. 69: Lapis lazuli. VI b: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
- 1 c. Herm. Mus. 71: Carnelian. I: Monogr.
- 1d. Herm. Mus. 112: Agate. I: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
- le. V. A. 1567: Chalcedony, I.: Monogr. on wings.
- 1 f. Berlin. J. 2578: Carnelian. VII: Bust of a bearded man to r., wearing helmet adorned with pearls and monogr.; Pahl. inscrip. (cf. Herz-Feld, Paikuli, p. 81, No. 13).
- 2. Khan. 2: Monogr.; in field above, on r. and on 1., elongated dots.
- 3. Unvala. 9: White jasper. VIb: Monogr.; in field on r. and on l., dots, below, horizontal stroke.
  - 4. Unvala. 7: Bronze. II: Monogr.; below, in field, horizontal stroke.
- 4a. C. M. N. 5257: Carnelian. VI b: Bust of a bearded man to r., diademed; Pahl. inscrip. with monogr. couché to l., below in field, a slightly curved stroke.
- 5. Vienna. IX. 1697/8: Yellowish jasper. I: Monogr.; below, in field, a curved stroke.
- 6. Torrey. A 1932, 13: Monogr.; below, in field, a wavy stroke; Pahl. inscrip.

- 7. V. A. 1552: Lapis lazuli. VI a: Monogr., below, in field on l., crescent, on r., six-rayed star, and a line of elongated dots.
  - 8. Herm. Mus. 77: Sard. I: Monogr.
  - 9. Vienna. IX. 1657: Carnelian. I: M nogr.
  - 10. Moscow. гммиллов. 46: Haematite. I: Monogr.
- 11. Br. Mus. 119683: Niccolo. X, hexagonal cut; (two seals): 1) Monogr. on leaves; in field on r. and on l., Pahl. inscrip.; 2) Arabic inscrip. in Cufic characters, in two lines.
- 12. Ind. Mus. 8395: Chalcedony. I; (two seals): Monogr. on floral design; 2) Duck, standing to r.; in field to r., fruits? Pahl. inscrip.
  - 13. V. A. 1554: Red jasper. II: Monogram, with Pahl. inscrip.
  - 14. Vienna. IX. 1662: Carnelian. IV: Monogr.
  - 14a. C. M. 1323. C. 25: Haematite, facetted. I.: Monogr. in wreath.
  - 14b. V. A. 1564: Garnet. VII: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
  - 14c. Br. Mus. 119624: Carnelian. I: Monogr. in wreath.
- 15. V. A. 1508: White carnelian. VII: Two scorpions facing, placed pright, pincers to pincers, tails turned to r. and to l; in field on r. nonogr., on l., another monogr., (cf. XII. 1).
- 16. C. M. 1339: Carnelian. VII. (Horn U. Steindorff, p. 27; IERZFELD, Paikuli, p. 79, No. 6): Bust of a bearded man to r., wearing helmet decorated with pearls and monogr.; Pahl. inscrip.
- 17. Von der Osten. 599: Bronze stamp-seal, circular, knob-shaped with perforated handle; diam. 12-15 mm.: Monogr.
  - 18. V. A. 1576: Carnelian. III: Monogr. in wreath.
  - 19. Ind. Mus. 8230: Bronze stamp-seal: Monogr.
  - 20. Ind. Mus. 8453: Carnelian. I: Monogr. in wreath.
  - 21. Moscow. r.m.n.n.1.28. 39: Haematite. I: Monogr.
  - 22. Br. Mus. 119666: Haematite. I: Monogr. on half wreath.
  - 23. C. M. 1325 A.: Haematite. I: Monogr. on filets (doubtful).
  - 24. Br. Mus. 119678: Agate. II: Monogr. in wreath.
- 25. Br. Mus. 119682: White carnelian. I (Horn, ZDMG. 44, p. 661, no. 67): Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.; in field above, on r., six-rayed star, on l, crescent.
  - 26. V. A. 1560: Carnelian. VI a.: Monogr. with inscrip.
  - 27. V. A. 1551: Carnelian. VI a.: Monogr.
  - 28. Br. Mus. 119655: Onyx set in silver ring: Monogr.
- 29. Von der Osten. 600: Haematite. I; diam. 17-14 mm.: Monogr. on fillets.
- 30. Br. Mus. 119661: White carnelian. II (Horn, ZDMG. 44, p. 660, No. 60): Monogr. with Manichaean inscrip. (cf. Menasce's communication).
- 31. Br. Mus. 119662: Chalcedony. II: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip., in field on r., cross with equal branches.

- 32. Br. Mus. 119668: Chalcedony. III; Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip. (Horn, ZDMG. 44, p. 654, No. 20).
- 33. Br. Mus. 119685: Chalcedony. I: Monogr.; six-rayed star in the crescent of the monogr.; in field, seven graded horizontal lines on either side.
  - 34. Herm. Mus. 80: Bronze. III: Monogr.
  - 34a. 'Azīz Bēglū: Haematite. I: Monogr., same as VII, 34.
  - 35. Br. Mus. 119663: Haematite, facetted. I: Monogr. in wreath.
- 36. Br. Mus. 119760: Agate. I (MORDTMANN, ZDMG. 18, p. 29, No. 76; Horn, ZDMG. 44, p. 671, No. 116; Horn u. Steindorff, No. 8): Roaring lion, walking to r., below its head, crescent, above the back, monogr.; Pahl. inscrip.

#### VIII

- 1. Hasan 'Alā. 1: Chalcedony. I.: Monogr. on wings; Pahl. inscrip.
- 2. Unvala. 5: Haematite. I: Monogr. in wreath.
- 3. Herm. Mus. 81: Chalcedony. III: Monogr.
- 4. Unvala. 8.: Carnelian, flat oblong piece with a lateral hole: Monogr.
  - 5. Br. Mus. 119671: Onyx. I: Monogr.; border of elongated dots.

#### IX

- 1. V. A. 1557: Agate. II: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
- 1 a. Br. Mus. 119980: Chalcedony. I; diam. 19-20 mm.: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
  - 1 b. C. M. 1325: Jasper. I: Monogr.
- 1 c. V. A. 1572: Onyx with white bands. III (two seals): 1) Monogr. on wings. 2) On the side: stork with the neck bent downwards: Arabic inscrip. in Cufic characters in two lines, the design the stork is placed horizontally between the lines.
  - 2. Br. Mus. 120248: Carnelian. VI b: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
  - 2 a. Herm. Mus. 63: Red jasper: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
- 3. Herm. Mus. 67: Chalcedony. I: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.; in field on r., six-rayed star, on l. crescent.
  - 4. Herm. Mus. 84: Bronze. I: Monogr.
  - 5. Ind. Mus. 8375: Chalcedony. I: Monogr.
- 6. V. A. 1549: Lapis lazuli. VI b: Monogr.; below crescent with horns downwards.
- 7. V. A. 1555: Green jasper. II: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.; six-rayed star in its crescent.
- 8. Br. Mus. 119686: Agate. III: Monogr.; six-rayed star in its crescent; below, crescent.
  - 9. Br. Mus. 119976: Agate. II: Monogr. on wings; Pahl. inscrip.
  - 10. Torrey. A 1932. 10 a: Monogr. on wings; Pahl. inscrip.
  - 11. Sarre. 4: Red jasper. II.: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
  - 12. Khan. 1: Monogr.
  - 13. Br. Mus. 119643: Porcelain jasper. I: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.

- 14. V. A. 1577: Carnelian. VII: Monogr. in wreath of two branches.
- 15. Br. Mus. 119978: Haematite. I: Monogr. on wings; elongated dots in border.
  - 16. Herm. Mus. 75: Agate. I: Monogr.; six-rayed star in its crescent.
  - 17. Br. Mus. 119674: Carnelian. II: Monogr.
- 18. V. A. 859: Sard. II: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip., whose ligatures and separate lettters are distributed around the monogr.
- 19. Br. Mus. 28803: Grey silex. I: Monogr. in a border of elongated dots.
  - 20. Vienna. 901. IX. 130: Chalcedony. I: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.

#### $\mathbf{X}$

- 1. Br. Mus. 119679: Chalcedony. III: Monogr.
- 2. V. A. 1569: Red jasper. I: Monogr. with fillets.
- 3. Br. Mus. 119689: Green jasper. I: Monogr. with fillets.
- 4. V. A. 749: Agate. III: Monogr. on wings and fillets; in field above, dots.
- 4 a. Ind. Mus. 8508; Green jasper. I: Monogr. on wings; below, fillets.
  - 4 b. V. A. 1573: Carnelian. VI b: Monogr. on fillets.
  - 4 c. C. M. 1319: Brown agate. I: Monogr. on fillets.
  - 4 d. Herm. Mus. 82: Chalcedony. I: Monogr. on fillets.
- 5. Br. Mus. 119979: Onyx, banded brown and grey. I; diam. 16-18 mm.: Monogr. on wings and fillets; in field above, elongated dots.
  - 6. Herm. Mus. 85: Green jasper. I: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
- 7. Br. Mus. 119676: Green jasper. I: Monogr.; in field on l., crescent, on r., sign resembling a circumflex.
- 8. Br. Mus. 119669: Chalcedony. I: Monogr.: six-rayed star in its crescent, whose two lower rays are missing; in field on r., six-rayed star.
- 9. Subhi Bey. Mordtmann, ZDMG. 18, p. 38, No. 124: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
- 10. Kish. Stucco-rondel; s. Survey of Persian Art, p. 805, pl. 174 A-C, fig. 279 b.
  - 11. C. M. 1316: Niccolo. VI a: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.

#### XI

- 1. C. M. 1324, Coste 1842; Carnelian. I: Monogr.
- 1 a. Br. Mus. 119690; Carnelian, rather agate, with light yellow and white bands. III: Monogr.
  - 1 b. Unvala. 2 : Carnelian. I : Monogr.
- 1 c. Von der Osten. 603: Green jasper; hemispheroid, diam. 16-14-13 mm.: Monogr.; border of dots; traces of Pahl. inscrip.
  - 2. Khan. 1: Monogr.
  - 3. C. M. 1315 bis, 2170: Agate. II: Monogr. on fillets; Pahl. inscrip.
  - 3 a. Ind. Mus. 8463: Carnelian with facettes. IV: Monogr. on fillets

#### with Pahl. inscrip.

- 3 b. Herm. Mus. 64: Sard. II.: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
- 3 c. Herm. Mus. 123: Carnelian. I.: Monogr.
- 3 d. Von der Osten. 605: Reddish chalcedony. I: Monogr.
- 4. Br. Mus. 119612: Carnelian. VI b: Monogr., six-rayed star in its crescent.
- 5. Br. Mus. 119981: Chalcedony. II; diam. 20-19 mm.: Monogr.; six-rayed star on either side; the whole in wreath.
  - 6. Moscow. r.m.u.z.z. 16: Carnelian. I: Monogr. in wreath.
- 7. Ind. Mus. 8383: Agate. I: Monogr.; a dot in its crescent; a fillet on either side.
  - 8. Br. Mus. 120247: Carnelian. VI b: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
  - 9. V. A. 2087: Red jasper. II: Monogr.
  - 10. Herm. Mus. 79: Green jasper. I: Monogr.
  - 11. V. A. 1575: Agate. III: Monogr. in wreath.

#### XII

- 1. V. A. 1508: White carnelian. VII: Two scorpions, facing, placed upright, pincers to pincers, tails turned to r. and to l.; in field on l., monogr., on r., another monogr., (cf. VII. 15).
- 1 a. Br. Mus. 119595: Carnelian. III: Griffin, sitting on its haunches to r., in field on r., monogr., on l., crescent; Pahl. inscrip. (Horn, ZDMG. 44, p. 670; No. 110).
- 1 b. Von der Osten. 625: Lapis lazuli. V: Bust of a bearded man to r., in field on l. behind the head, monogr., on r., Hephthalite (Pahl.)? inscrip.
  - 1 c. Hephthalite coin.
  - 2. Vienna. IX. 1688: Agate. I: Monogr.
  - 3. Ind. Mus. 8442: Carnelian. IV: Monogr. in wreath.
- 4. V. A. 3436: Chalcedony. IV (design on sides): Monogr.; a crescent on either side; above, a crescent in the crescent of the monogr. and another below; Pahl. inscrip.
- 5. Von der Osten. 601: Banded agate, globular, flattened sides. I: Monogr. with inscrip.; border of dots.
- 6. C. M. 1320. C. 27: Chalcedony. I: Monogr.; three elongated dots on either side.
- 7. Ind. Mus. 8370: Chalcedony. I.: Monogr. in wreath; cross with equal branches in its crescent.

#### XIII

- 1. Ind. Mus. 191 c: Carnelian. V: Bust of a man to r., head in profile, diademed; in field on r., lily, on l., monogr.
- 2-3. Khan. 100: Two monograms, side by side, encircled by Pahl. inscrip.

- 4. Devonshire (Mordtmann, ZDMG. 29, p. 199, No. 1; JRAS. New Series, III, p. 350; Num. Chron. VI, p. 241; Herzfeld, Paikuli, p. 78, No. 4, fig. 35): Amethyst. VII: Bust of a bearded nobleman to r. wearing helmet and diadem; monogr., on helmet slightly inclined to l.; Pahl. inscrip.
- 5. Br. Mus. 120178: Niccolo. I: Bust of a bearded man in profile to r.; Pahl. inscrip. on r. and above; in field on l., monogr. (Horn, ZDMG. 44, p. 655, No. 27).
- 6. Ind. Mus. 128 c.: Garnet-almandine. I: Bust of a nobleman in profile to r., wearing helmet with monogr.; Pahl. inscrip.

#### XIV

- 1. Hephthalite coin.
- 2. Bulla from Susa.

#### XVa.

- 1. Vatican. 3: Carnelian. V: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
- 2. Ind. Mus. 8355: Agate. III: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip; in field on r., a six-rayed star.
- 3. Br. Mus. 119768: Chalcedony. IV: Protoma of a winged lion to r., below it, monogr., in horizontal position, its crescent turned to r.; Pahl. inscrip. (Horn, ZDMG. 44, p. 660, No. 64).
- 4. Ind. Mus. 129 c.: Niccolo. VI c: Monogr. with illegible Pahl. inscrip., forming its lower element; another Pahl. inscrip.; a cross of equal branches in the crescent of the monogr.
- 5. Br. Mus. 120304: Ribboned agate, VII: see p. 63, II. 1, Arabic inscrip. in Cufic characters followed by monogr.

#### XVb.

- 1. Ind. Mus. 113 Bc: Agate. I: Monogr., on its r., eight-rayed star and crescent, on l., lion sitting on its haunches; below it, half margarite; Pahl. inscrip.
- 2. Von der Osten. 604: Chalcedony. I: Monogr., on its 1., six-rayed star, on r., crescent.
- 3. Br. Mus. 119625: Sardonyx. V: Right hand de trois-quart, holding a flower between thumb and fore-finger; on back of the hand, a four petaled flower; in field on r., monogr.; border of dots.
  - 4. Bas-relief, Naqshe-Shapur.

#### XVc

- 1. Vienna. 910. IX. 114: Carnelian, set in gold ring: VI: Bust of a bearded man in profile to r., wearing diadem, earring and necklace; below on r., monogr.
- 2. Mordtmann, ZDMG. 18, pp. 5-7, No. 5 (comp. S. Alishan): Bust of a bearded man in profile to r., wearing helmet, diademed with fillets and pearls; monogr. on helmet; Pahl. inscrip.

- 3 C. M. M. 6982: Sardonyx. VII: Bust of a bearded man in profile to r., wearing helmet, diademed with fillets, and pearls; monogr. on helmet; Pahl. inscrip.
- 4.1 Br. Mus. 119710: Agate. VII: Bust of a bearded man in profile to r., wearing helmet, diademed with fillets and decorated with pearls; monogr. on helmet; Pahl. inscrip.

#### XVI.

- 1. Br. Mus. 99413: Haematite. I: Monogr., in field, strokes.
- 2. Metropolitan Mus. (Survey of Persian Art, p. 806 fig. 280): Monogr. on wings and fillets.
  - 3. Erivan. 16: Carnelian. I: Monogr.
  - 4. V. A. 1562: Chalcedony. VI a: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
  - 5. Br. Mus. 119652: Lapis lazuli. VI a: Monogr. damaged.
  - 6. V. A. 1546: Greyish pink jasper. II: Monogr.

#### XVII.

- 1. Ind. Mus. 8342: Agate. III: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.; in field on 1., crescent.
- 2. C. M. 1323 A. M. 4732: Chalcedony. IV: Monogr. in wreath of leaves.

#### XVIII

- 1. Bas-relief, Naqshe-Shapur; Monogr. on helmet of page.
- 2. V. A. 1563: Garnet. VII: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.

#### XIX.

- 1. Br. Mus. 119653: Agate. I: (two seals): 1) Bust of a bearded man on wings; above, wreath. 2) Monogr.; fillets on either side; in field above, dots.
- 2. Ind. Mus. 121 c: Rock crystal. V: Bust of a king in profile to r.; monogr. with Hephthalite? inscrip.
  - 3. Herm. Mus. 66: Chalcedony. IV: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
  - 4. C. M. 1318: Agate. III: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
- 5. V. A. 4030: Carnelian. VII: Big bust of a bearded man facing, head to l., wearing diademed helmet and earring; on his left, bust of a woman facing, head to r.; on his right, bust of a boy facing, head to l.; between the first two busts, monogr., in field, a star over the head of the woman and another over the head of the boy; inscrip. in peculiar characters.
- 6. Subhi Bey. Mordtmann, ZDMG. 18, p. 25, No. 63: Monogr. with Pahl. inscription.

<sup>1.</sup> The seals of the collections of Alishan, the Cabinet des Médailles and the British Museum are identical. They are three copies of the same original; perhaps one of the three is the original. The same monogram has undergone slight variations. The Pahlavi characters show peculiar forms.

- 7. Morrison, p. 24, No. 190: Carnelian set in gold ring. VII: Male portrait, draped and wearing tiara with monogr.; around portrait, long Pahl. inscrip.
  - 8. V. A. 2161: Carnelian. VI a: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
  - 9. Ind. Mus. 8382: Chalcedony. VII: Monogr.
  - 10. Khan. 46: Monogr.
  - 11. Khan. 68: Monogr.
  - 12. Bas-relief, Naqshe-Rajab: Monogr. on helmet.
  - 13. Stakhr stucco: Monogr.
  - 14. Hephthalite coin.

#### XX

- 1. Bulla from Susa: Monogr.; in field on l., crescent.
- 2. Damghan stucco, height 40, 3 cm. Teheran Museum: Monogr. in a border of annelets in two linear oblongs.
  - 3. V. A. 1556: Carnelian with facettes. IV.: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
  - 4. V. A. 1561: Chalcedony. VI a: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
- 5. Ctesiphon plaque, height 39 cm. Metropolitan Museum: Monogr. on wings.
- 6. Br. Mus. 119673: Sard. I: Monogr.; in its upper crescent, crescent with horns turned to l., in its lower reversed crescent, cross with equal branches.
- 7. Von der Osten. 606: Lapis lazuli; flat circular piece, set in silver ring: Monogr.
  - 8. V. A. 1559: Carnelian. VI a: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.
- 9. Br. Mus. 120254: Lapis lazuli. VI b.: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip. (Horn, ZDMG. 44, p. 668. No. 103).
  - 10. V. A. 1548: Garnet set in gold ring. VI b.: Monogr.
- 11. Torrey A 1931, 76: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.; in field on r., a crescent, on l., a star.
- 12. Br. Mus. 119620: Niccolo. VI c: Monogr. with intertwined Pahl. inscrip.
- 13. Br. Mus. 119975: Agate. I: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.; in field on r., eight-rayed star.
- 14. Br. Mus. 120252: Niccolo. VI a: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip. (HORN, ZDMG. 44, p. 655, No. 24).
- 15. Torrey. N. 4496: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip. (Horn, ZDMG. 44, p. 673. JNB).
- 16. Khan 88: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.; in field on 1., crescent and star.
  - 17. Bulla from Susa: Monogr.
- 17a. Antiquarian, Tehran: Agate. II: Monogr. same as XX. 17, with Pahl. inscrip.
  - 18. V. A. 1550: Agate. VI b: Monogr.
- 19. Von der Osten. 602: Green jasper. I: Monogr. with Pahl. inscrip.; border of dots.

 $\mathbf{A}$ 







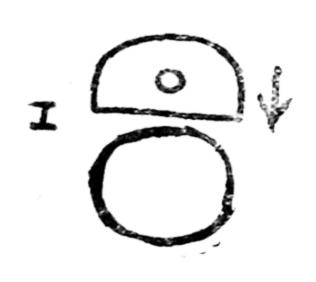


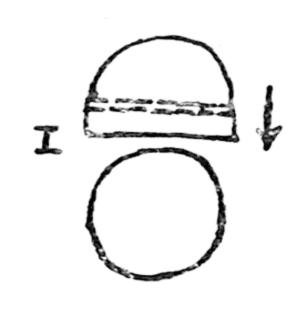


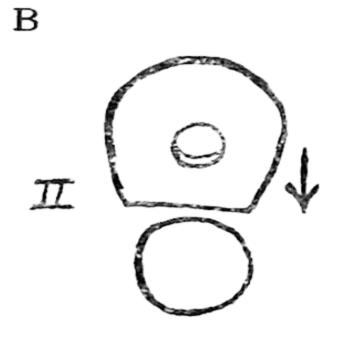


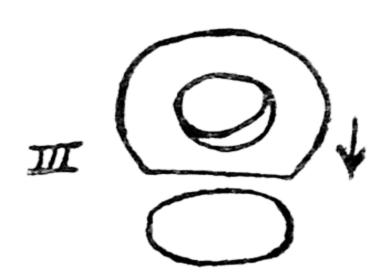




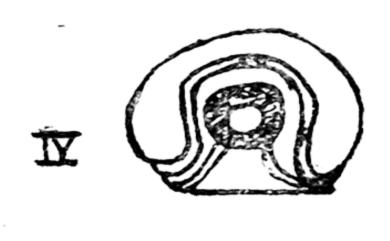


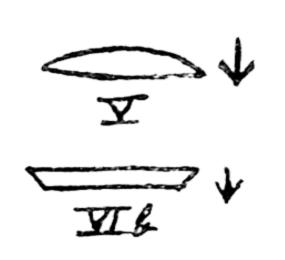


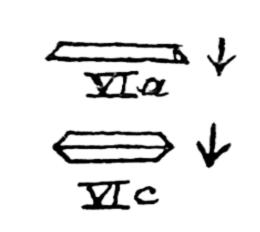






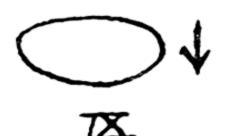


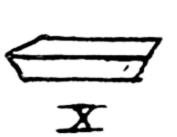


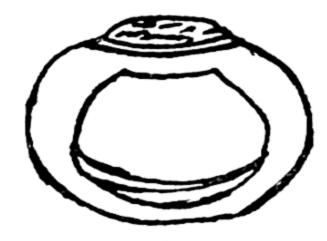








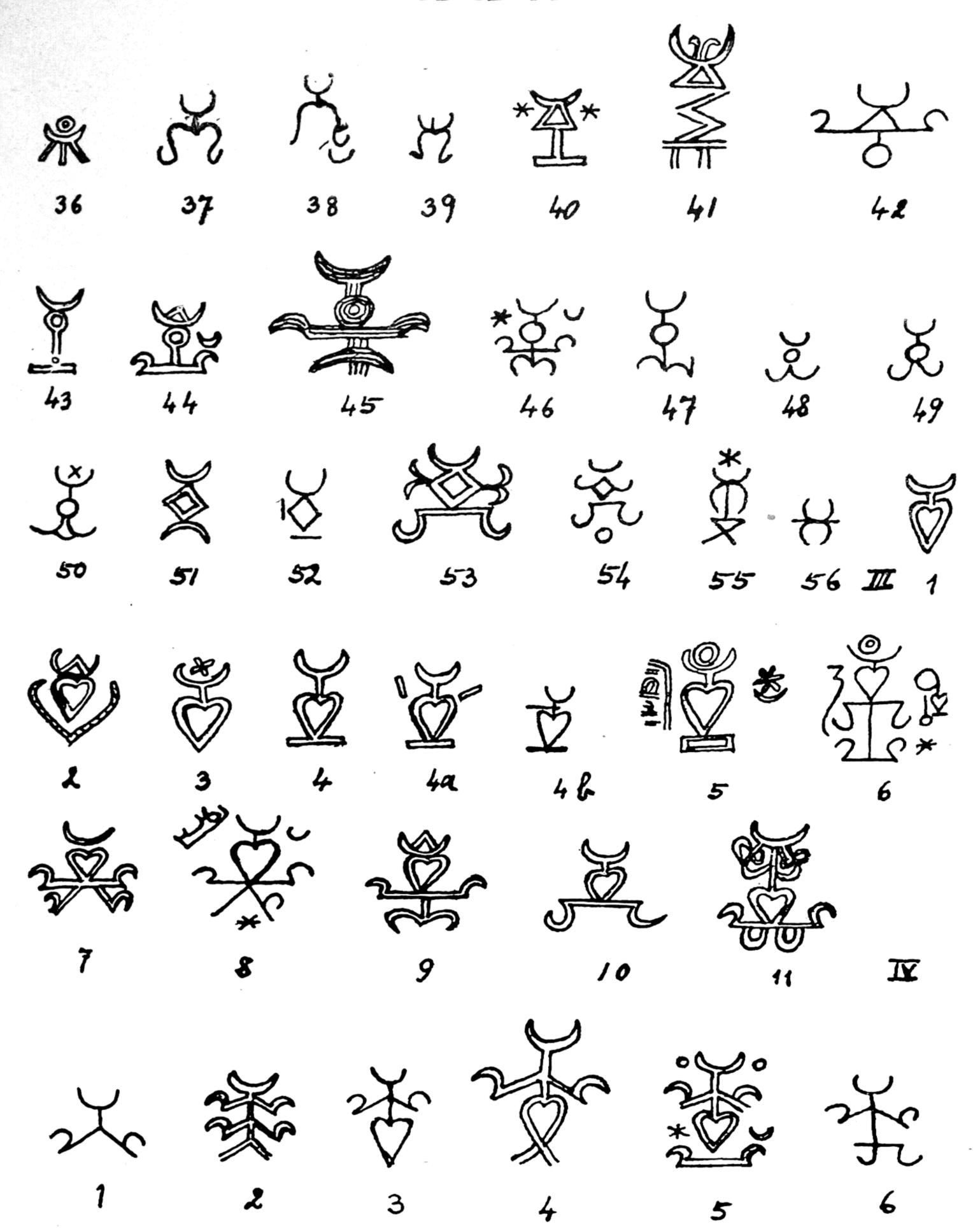


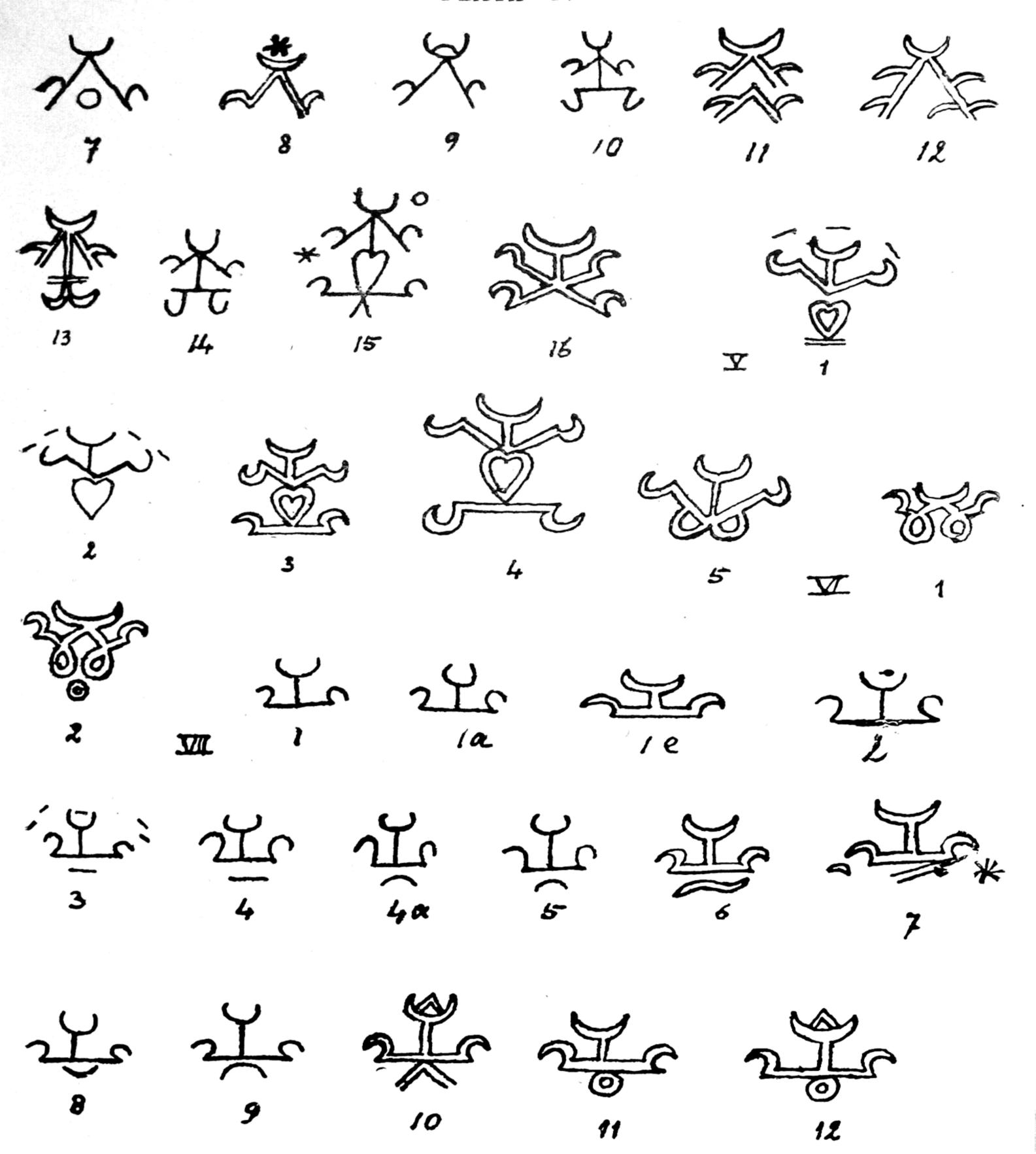


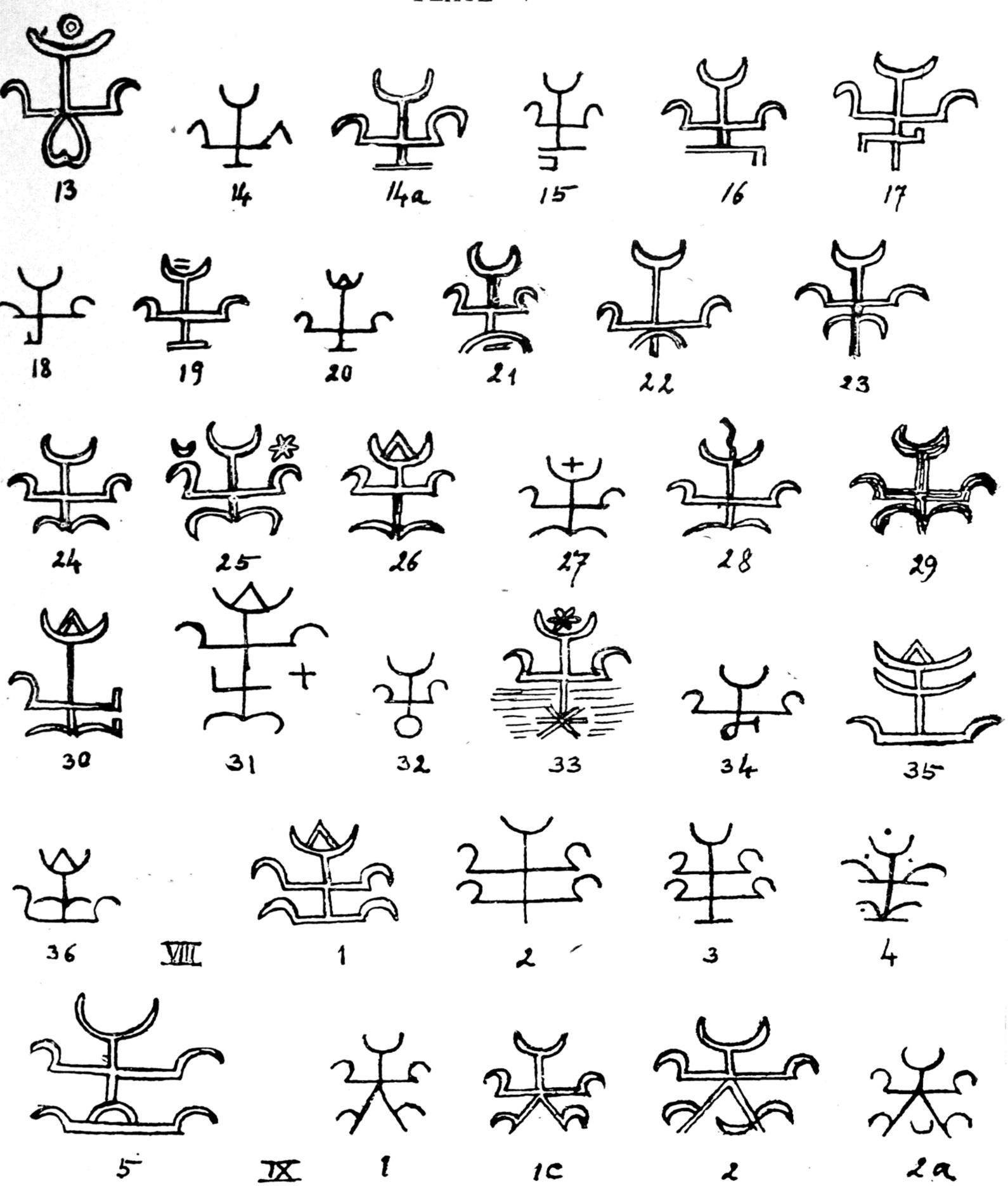
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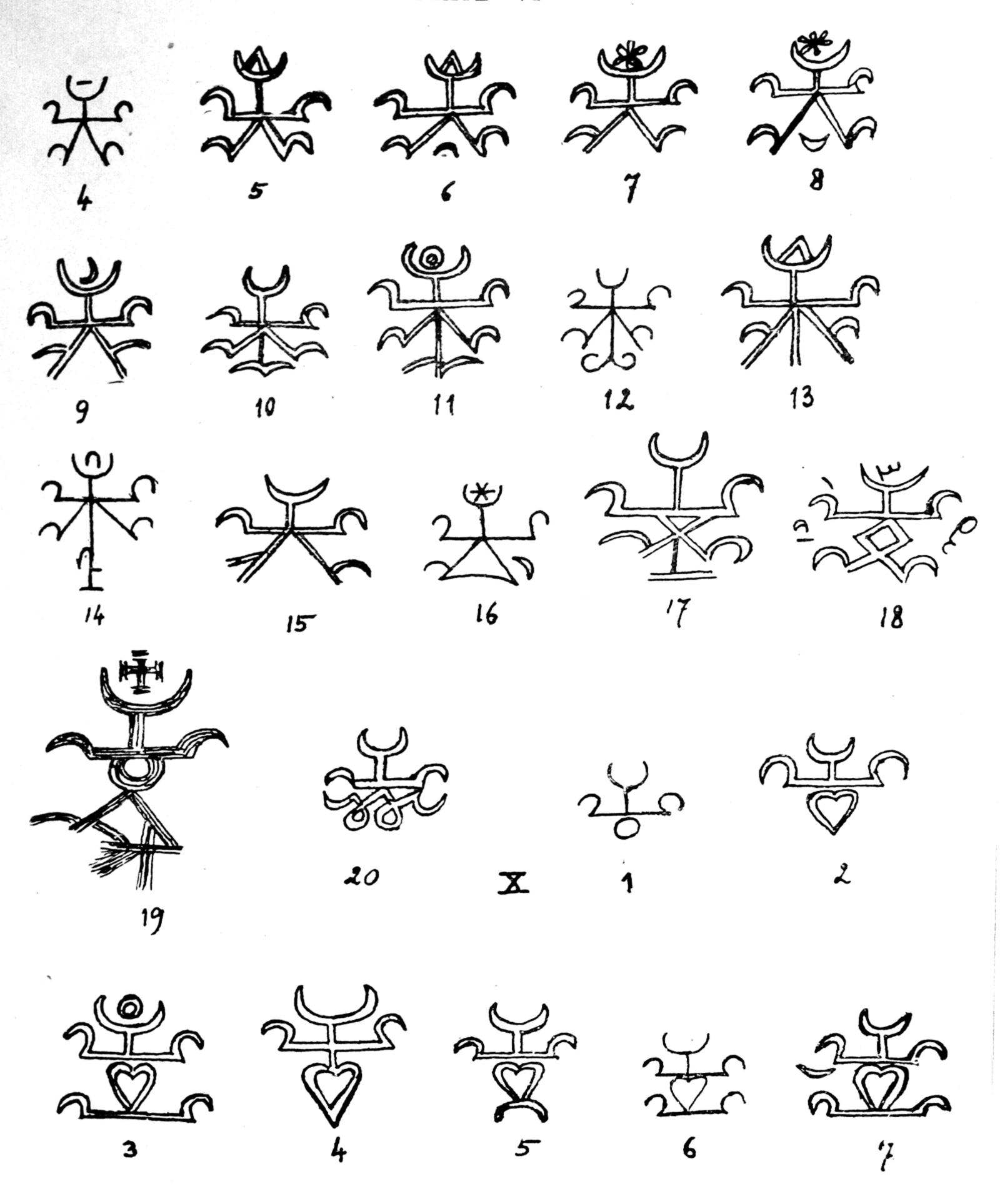
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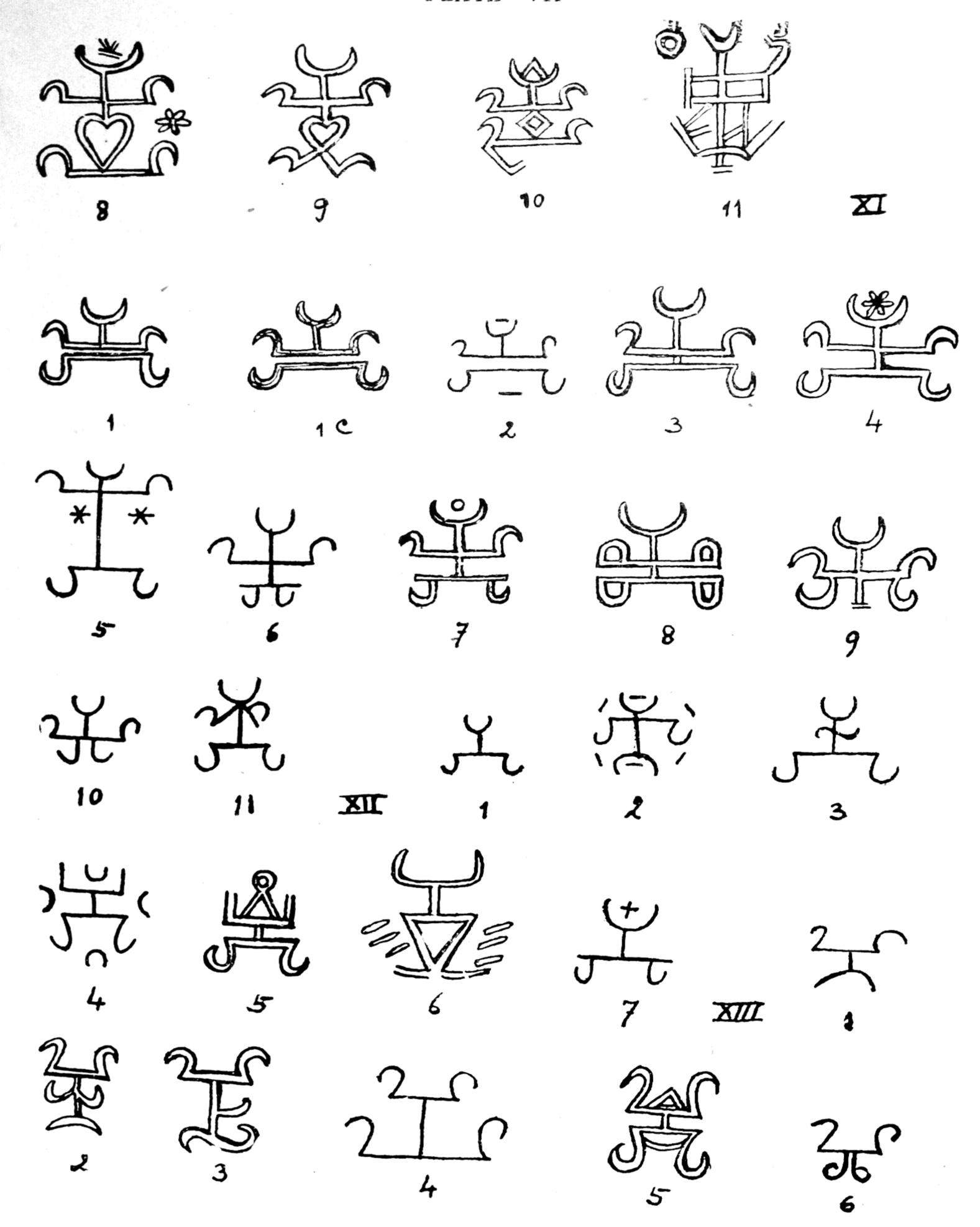


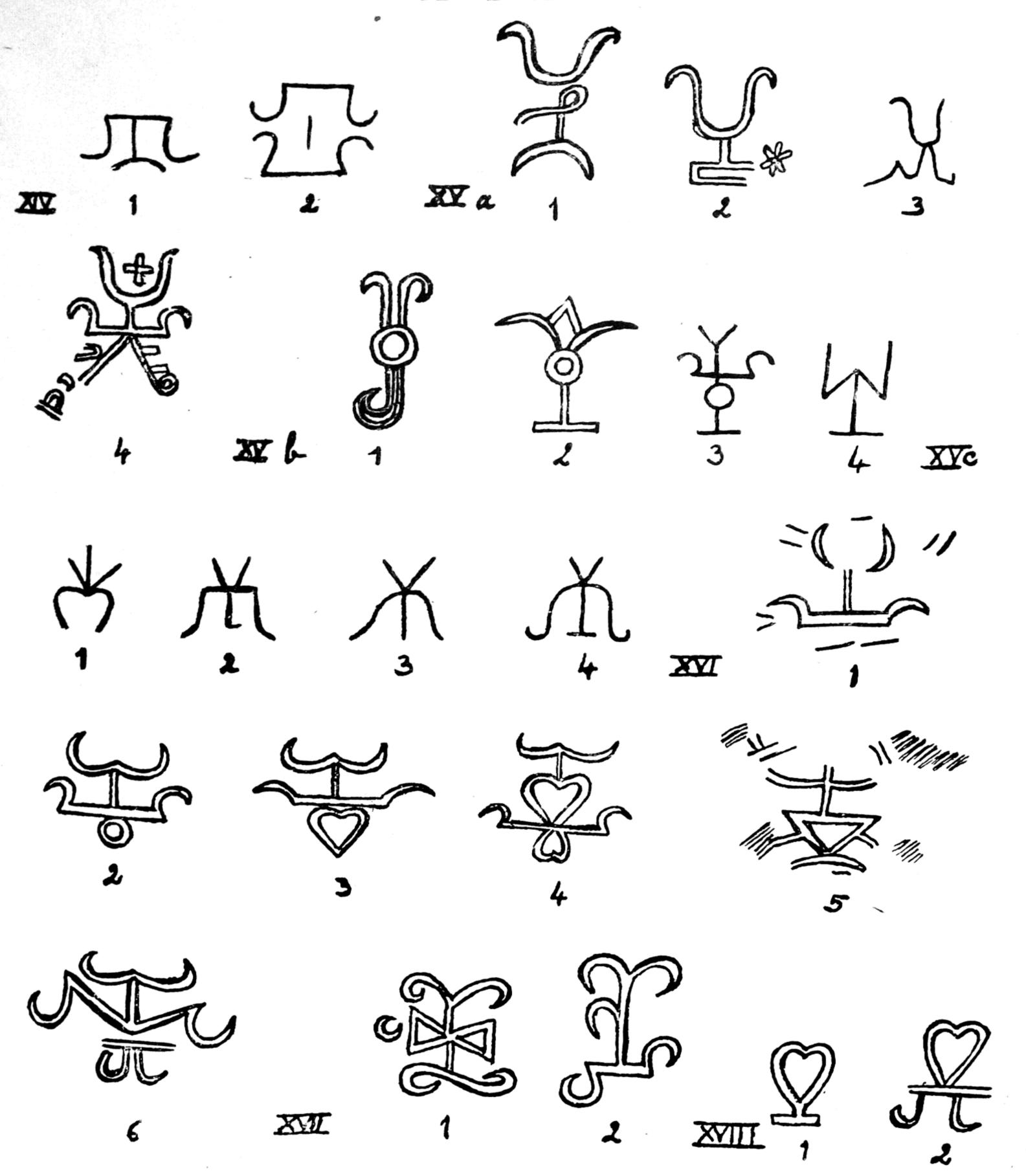


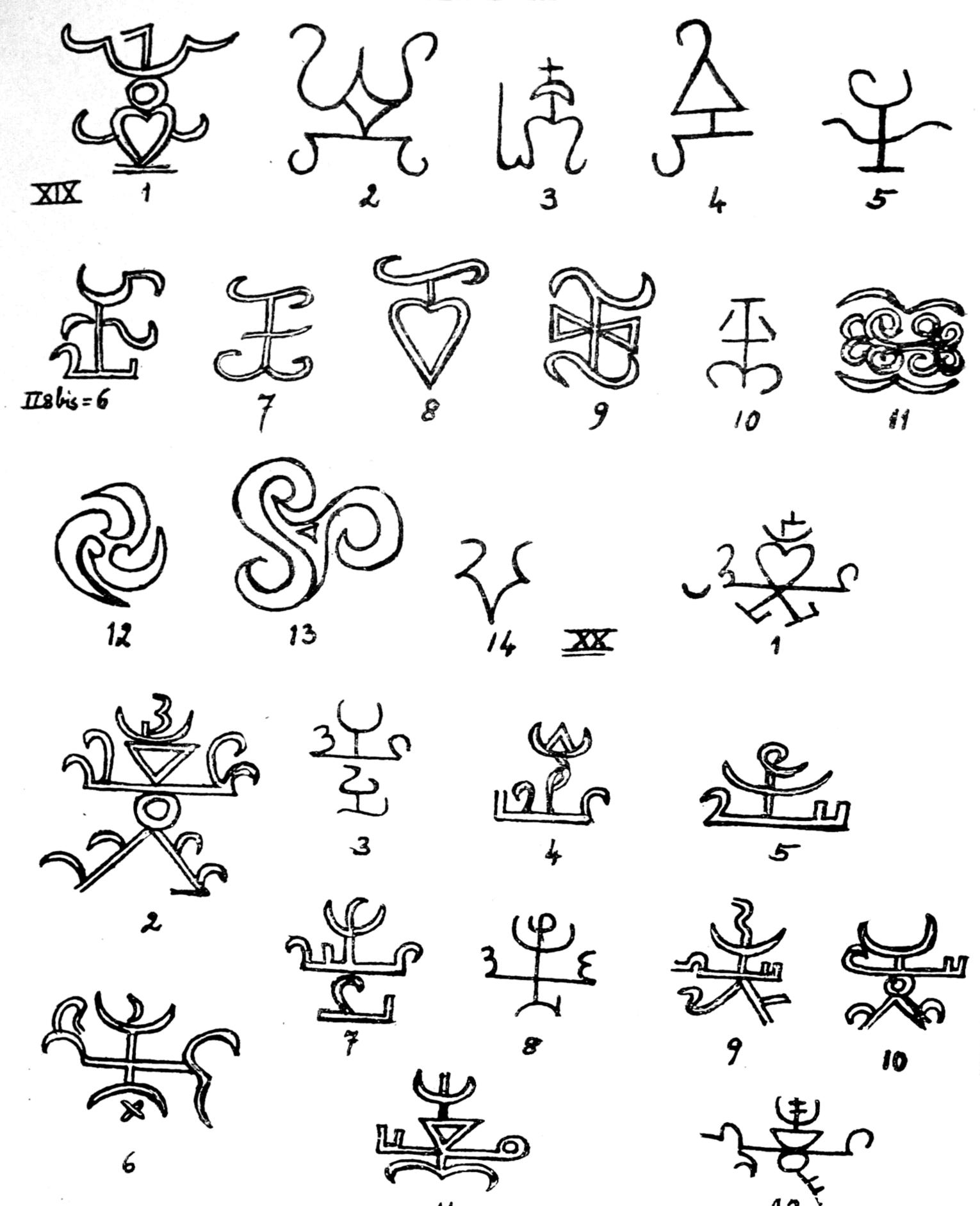


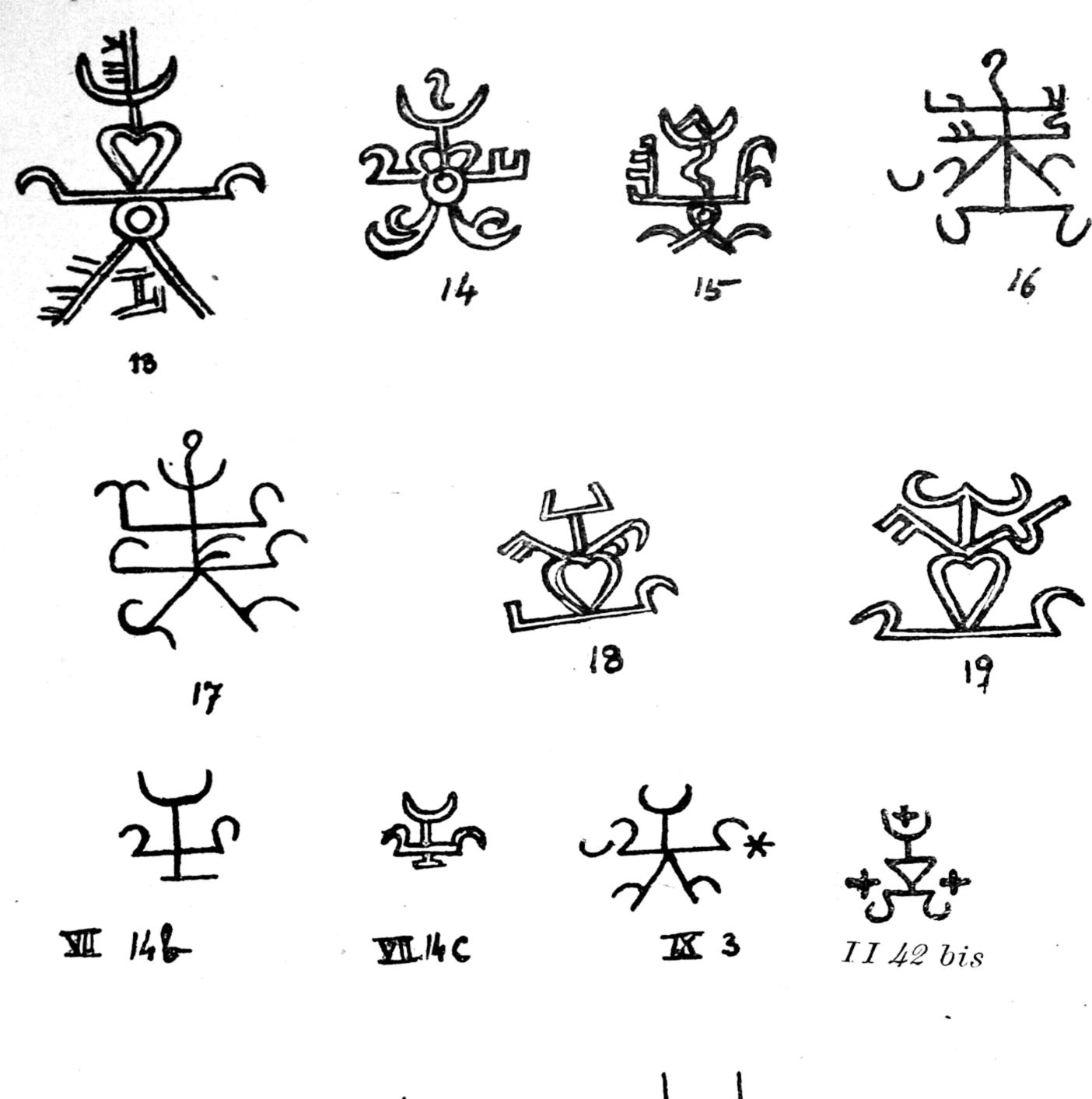












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From the Derbend Inscription

# TRACES OF THE MYSTERY RELIGION IN THE EXTANT AVESTAN LITERATURE

By Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Dastur M. N. Dhalla

There are three passages in the extant Avestan literature which reveal to us the existence of what is known in the History of Religions as the Mystery Religion.

Haurvatat, later Khurdad, is the sixth Amesha Spenta and is emblematic of Perfection. The Yasht dedicated to him in the Later Avesta opens with the statement that Ahura Mazda created him for the help, joy, comfort and pleasure of the righteous ones. The greater part of the Yasht, however, is dedicated to the recital of Manthras or holy spells which enable one to smite the legion of demons. Ahura Mazda is then depicted to enjoin Zarathushtra not to teach these Manthras to any one, except by the father to his son, or by the brother to his brother or by an Athravan to his pupil. A similar injunction is found in Yasht 14, 46, dedicated to Verethraghna. Yet further in the Sad Dar (99.34), a later Pazend-Persian work, it is said that this knowledge is to be imparted to a priest and his intelligent descendant and to none other.

Examples of similar instructions to guard such knowledge of the recital of the holy spells, to be handed down from generation to generation and to be transmitted from father to son, or from teacher to his pupil are found in the sacred books of other religions. For example, the Brihad-Āranyaka Upanishad 6.3.12 tells us that one should not give such knowledge to one who is not a son or to one who is not a pupil. The Chāndogya Upanishad 3. II. 5, 6 says that a father should teach this to his eldest son or to a worthy pupil, but to none else. Even if one may offer him this earth that is filled with treasure, he should say: "This (knowledge) truly is more than that (earthly treasure)." The Mundaka 3, 2, 10, 11; Švetāsvatara 6.22 and Maitri Upanishad 6.29 add that this profound mystery should not be given or even mentioned to one who is not a son or a pupil or a tranquil person.

In Ancient Egypt the King was the head of the guild of the diviners and magicians. When Cambyses was in Egypt he is reported to have sought initiation to the Mysteries of the Goddess Neit. The initiates were asked to guard the secrecy of the mysterious wisdom.

In Babylonia, the books on the art of divination were highly treasured and scrupulously guarded. Those that were not instructed were debarred from reading the secrets of divinations.

St. Paul speaks of the hidden wisdom intended only for the initiated.

The Mysteries were rites performed in secret and concealed from the view of the public. The priests who were solemnly initiated for the service could perform these rites.

When the cult of Mithra entered Rome, the Mithraic rites were performed in the caves and grottoes and the fire was kept burning perpetually in the deep recesses of the subterranean crypts.

The Divine Knowledge was thus a sacred possession. It was to be closely guarded and kept secret. The initiates, everywhere, were strictly forbidden to divulge the secret of the Mystery-Religions.

The neophyte, everywhere, was subjected to rigorous tests to prove the power of his physical endurance. Before initiation he had to purify himself by repeated lustrations and ablutions to cleanse his soul of sin. He had to practise austerities and had to undergo flagellations and bodily tortures. He had to perform magical rites and pass through degrees of initiation before he was finally admitted as a participant in the Mysteries.

A passage in the Yasht dedicated to Mithra (Yasht 10.122) reminds us of the custom of flagellation. Ahura Mazda is depicted as saying unto Zarathustra that they alone who are well-versed in the sacrificial ritual shall wash their bodies three days and three nights and undergo thirty stripes and under other circumstances wash their bodies two days and two nights and undergo twenty stripes before they drink the libations prepared in honour of Mithra.

We find from the history of the Mystery-Religions that have prevailed in the past in the different parts of the world that the initiates were supposed to wield great occult power. They claimed exclusive right to approach the celestial beings and hold communion with them. It was through their medium only that one could obtain divine favours in this world and deliverance from sufferings in the next world.

### TIŠTRIYA AND SATAVĖSA.

#### By ERNST HERZFELD

Tistriya is the name of the brightest fixed-star, Sirius, in Canis Major¹. A month in the Iranian calendar belongs to him, and the eighth yasht in the Awesta. Like all the yashts this one is a conglomerate of material belonging to various periods and far from being homogeneous, which, at an undetermined moment, has been collected and connected with an attempt to introduce some continuity of thought into these fragments. This work we call, here, the Mazdayasnian redaction. Under this retouch one easily recognizes many good and old fragments.

The last part of the yasht, stanzas 50-61, deals with two themes. One of them is a very archaic sacrificial rule, to which analogies are preserved in a few other yashts; the other may be called the "rehabilitation of Tistriya", to which there is a counterpart in the Mithra yasht. After a period in which it was forbidden to call these gods by name, that means, in which their cult was entirely prohibited, they had again obtained the frasastis, 'public proclamation', had again become ōxtanāman yazata, gods "allowed to be worshipped under their own name", by data, royal edict, law. The meaning of this governmental act has become clear by the inscription of Xerxes, discovered at Persepolis, in which the king says that he prohibited the cult of all the ancient dēvas, the pre-Zoroastrian "heavenly ones", and by a remark of Berossos who records from cuneiform documents that Artaxerxes II put up statues of Anāhitā in the temples of all the provincial capitals of the empire, a measure implying that Xerxes' prohibition had been recalled. This observation dates certain parts of the  $yasht^2$ .

<sup>1.</sup> J. MARKWART, 'Sudarmenien' p. 15\* etymologized the name as "star flashing rays", with reduplication, as in OI. ti.sthāmi, cp. Angl. Sax., OHGerm. strāla 'arrow'. A similar meaning is attributed by Eratosthenes and other Greek astronomers to Gr. seiros, dià tēs phlogòs kinēsin, cp. Aratos of Soloi, first half of 3rd cent. B.C: hós rha málista oxéa seiriáei.—Goetze, in KZ. 51, p. 146ff, tried to establish a linguistic correspondence between Ir. tistriya, Ved. tīṣya, and Gr. seirios. If the name belonged indeed to the aboriginal I.-E. language, the star would have been one of the I.-E. dēva, divi.

<sup>2.</sup> Besides st. 50-61 the st. 11, 14-15, 17, 19 and 24-25.

Leaving aside st. 37–38, a fragment of the Rxsa myth with the highly archaic invocation of  $\min \theta r\bar{a}$ -ahurā in dvandva form, two groups are prominent among the remaining stanzas. By form and contents they are closely connected in themselves but also with each other, and apparently they once formed an old hymn, the mazdayasnian revision of which we own in Yt. 8.

Other old yashts show that the pre-awestic hymns began with an invocation of more than one god, after which the individual god to whom the hymn was dedicated was introduced with a long series of epithets. The present st. 2 and 4 are a collection of such epithets.

2: arušam rōxšnam fradrsram v(i)yāvantam bēšaziyam rava. frōθmanam brazantam dūrāt vyāwantam bānubyo rōxšnibyo anāhitēbyo

? , healing snorting in running, high radiant from afar with rays bright, immaculate".

Not all the epithets are of necessity authentic. The first three are, according to Yt. 10,88, in reality those of Mithra's horses: in Yt. 13,81 they are misused to describe the "fravarti of Ahura-Mazdāh", a very late and rather an ungenuine notion. "Snorting in running" is another typical epithet of horses, used in Yt. 17,12 for the horses of Rtiš. They may have been actually applied to Tištriya who can assume the shape of a stallion.

vyāvant appears twice, a repetition the more difficult to accept, as the word counts for three syllables at the first, for four at the second place, there connected with bānubyo. This is covered by Yt.17.6, where the same group is a predicate of Rtis, and by Rv. x.6.2, bhānúbir vibhāva. Hence the epithet is of Aryan antiquīty and its etymology is vi  $+\sqrt{b\bar{a}}$ , which may well express the twinkling of the star, agreeing with Eratosthenes' interpretation of Gr. seirios. One must read  $+vy\bar{a}wantam$  or  $+viw\bar{a}ntam$ ; the fem. viwāti is the epithet of Uši in Yt. 5.62 (Pārva legend). The first vyāwantam stands for this or a similar word of four syllables which formed a verse of eight syllables together with bēšaziyam for this adjective is proved to be genuine by st.43: "he heals all creatures".

Another épithet, in st. 12, drva. čašman, usually translated

"with his healthy eye", means "with the good eye", opp. to "evil eye".

4: tištriyam stāram rēvantam hvarnahvantam yazamade afščiθram sūram brzantam amavantam dūrē.sūkam (brazantam uparo.karyam) (yahmāt) hača brzāt hāusravaham

Tistriya, the star, the rich, the fortunate, we worship, of water's kind, strong, high, powerful, flaming far off, (high, superior) from the High one is his fame

apām nafðrāt hača čieram

from ApāmNapāt his kind!"

rēvant and hvarnahvant are the standing predicates of the star, just as å hām raya hvarnahača is always applied to the fravarti. In the yazamade formula and where the words appear in the nominative, tistriyo rēvå hvarnahvå, they are metricaldūrē.sūka is a variant of dūrāt viwānt in st.2.

All old occurrences of  $afš\check{c}i\theta ra$  are in Yt.8, where, in st.39, also the analogous terms  $zmas\check{c}i\theta ra$  and  $urvara\check{c}i\theta ra$  appear, in which 'earth' and 'plants' replace 'water'. Thus the word seems to have been an original attribute of Tištriya which later assumed a more general acceptation: stars kindred to water, earth, plants. The MēnōkXrat interprets  $afš\check{c}i\theta ra$  by "increasing the water". At present, in Yt.8, the attributes are followed by the words "from ApāmNapāt is his kind", so that in the original myth Tištriya appears to have been called  $afš\check{c}i\theta ra$  as son of ApāmNapāt.

As in the original Mithra yasht, where the 'driving out' of the god follows the general invocation and the yazamade formula with its epithets, thus here st.25 joins st.4 without hitch as to form and contents:

25: yo avaδāt fravazate xšoiθniyāt +hača ušayāt dūrē.rvēsam pati pantām baga.baxtam pati yōnam fraθwarštam pati ⟨āfvantam⟩

"who drives out from yonder, from the queenly dawn, on the track with distant turning, in the course laid down by the gods, in the appointed (time)".

This stanza must be studied together with Yt.13,53-58, where the verses 25,c-e reoccur three times, relating to the fravarti who show the waters, plants and stars their course. At one place,

<sup>1.</sup> yahmāt spoils not only the metre, but the meaning of the verse, and has been added when the redactors put the verse into its present place, trying to make a syntactical connection.

instead of the adjective āfvant "watery", which conflicts with the structure of the stanza and does not make sense, we find the subst. zrvānam 'time', and this must be restored in our passage.

The verses are the adequate beginning of an old hymn to Tištriya. baga. bazta is a term of pre-Zoroastrian, polytheistic religion and so are other perceptions revealed in the verses that form part of this old hymn. The revision the verses suffered during the Achaemenian epoch has not obliterated this fact.

Upon this introduction followed the first part of the hymn consisting of st.5, 36, 41-42:

5: yim patišmarante pasvasča storāča

martīyāča (paro) dršvāno kētāča (paro družyanto) kasā no avi uzīrāt tištriyo rēvā hvarnahvā kasā xā aspa.stavyahīš

apām tačānti nava 36: yim yār.čaršo + martiyahya

> ahurāča + ratugūto arunāča garišačo

siždrāča ravasčarāto

uzīrantam hišpasante huyāryāča dahyave

uzjasantam dužyāryāča

kaδā āryå dahyāvo
huyāryå bavanti
41: yim āpo patišmarante
armēštå fratačartåsča
xāniyå θrōtastātåsča
paršuviyå variyāsča

"By whom count small and large cattle

and men (before) in chains, and astronomers - - -: When will he rise for us, Tištriya, the rich, the fortunate, when will the springs, stronger than a horse,

For whom the (fields) ploughed
for men's harvest
and the calender-making lords,
and the (animals) not-herding
-together, the frightful ones,
living on mountains and in
prairies,

look out, whether he rises,
whether he comes up as bringing good harvest
for the provinces or as bringing bad harvest:
When will the Armen in

When will the Aryan provinces have a good harvest?

By whom count the waters, the still and the flowing ones, those in springs and in rivers, those in canals and in pools: 42: kaδā no avi uzīrāt tištrīyo revå hvarnahvå kaδā xå aspa.stavyahīš

> apām γžāram awīγžāram srīrāsča asā soiθrāsča

gavyūtišča ātačintīš ā varšajīš urvarānām sūra vaxšayante vaxša When will he rise for us,
Tištriya, - - - -,
when will the springs, stronger
than a horse,
of the waters start to gush forth,
and, flowing to the pretty villages, cantons,

and pastures, make the stalks of corn grow with strong growth?

These verses have not suffered any transposition in the present yasht; they are only separated by misplaced insertions. The verbs patismarante "they count by" and hispasante "they look out for" alternate, as do the subjects pasū-vīrā in 5 with arunā-siždrā in 36, kētā 'astronomer' in 5 with 'ratugūt 'chronologer' in 36 - incomprehensible, as they appear to us separated by 31 stanzas; further yārčaršo 'fields' with mountains and prairies in 36, waters in 41.- These heterogeneous beings are not arranged according to inner relationship; on the contrary, they are in thorough confusion, apparently with the intention to illussrate, by such diversity, the power of the star.

The first part of each stanza is a relative clause, the second a question: "When will he rise?" In 36 where the question is short, two accusatives of participles, uzīrantam and uzjasantam, are added to the verb, which have the value of the questions: Will he rise, will he appear? Both refer to the beginning of the period of visibility, not to the hour of the rising in the single nights.

patismarante, to  $\sqrt{\text{mar}}$ -'to mark', has here as in later language already the meaning 'to count, calculate'. Answering the question when?, it is the seasons regulating the life of these beings that are counted.

dršvan in 5,b belongs to drzvan in Yt.1,27,  $\sqrt{drz}$ , drang- 'to make fast', cp. drzāna. pr $\theta$ a 'incurring (the punishment of) chains'. A martiya dršvan or drzvan is a 'man in fetters' who has reason to 'count' the months of his punishment.

The meaning 'astronomer' of  $k\bar{e}ta > MP$ .  $k\bar{e}\delta$ , has been established by MP. texts.- paro družyanto means the same as

yoi purva mi $\theta$ ra m družyanti in Yt.10,45 "who formerly committed a crime against Mithra, had become mi $\theta$ ra druxs". There and here, the words are a bad gloss, used as though the meaning was "punished for a crime committed formerly" or "kēta, criminals of old", an erroneous interpretation of kēta. The genuine formula thus paraphrased is found in Yt.

13,30: an āzart**å** nrbyo

the good fravarti who are not wroth

vahviš yoi vo vahviš gufrå

at those men who have never before provoked you,

frasrutå vanat-prtanå

the good, the deep ones that grant

noit purvyå azārayanta victory in battle when praised."

The reduction of this thought to a mere paro družyanto is no good language. The words are wrongly inserted and this entailed the meaningless insertion of paro between martiyā and dršvāno. The whole sentence has lost its metrical form, it may have been originally

yim [vispē] patišmarante

pasū stōrāča kētāča

martiyāča yoi (or: martiyakāča) dršvāno.

as pa. stavyah in 5, f refers, not to size, but to power, as in the frequent formula "power of a donkey, a horse, bull, a camel".

yār.čaršo martiyahya (text: martiyāhe) cannot mean a full year; yār must be a certain term of cultivation.

In 36, b, the text has a hurā xratugūto; the correspondence with kētā shows that this is a clerical error for 'ratugūto, hence 'chronologer' or 'calender maker'.

Str. 36, e-i: dahyave is dative of purpose, huyāryā, dužy-āryā are instrumentals of quality: "as one who brings..."

42.d: the figura etymologica γžāram awiγžāram has a similar meaning as the question in 5 "When ill they flow again?" 42,g: the meaning 'stalk, stem etc' of varšaji has been determined by Bailey, JRAS 1934, p. 505f. Therewith Bartholomae's translation of vaxšayante vaxša "sprühend henetzen" falls. The words mean "they make grow". The mistake entailed the wrong interpretation of važdriš uxšyati in Yt.8,43, see below.

The other group of stanzas, viz. 13, 16, 18, 20-23, 26-30, tells, in epicl form, how the star, after being one month in the sky, fights and defeats the demon of drought, Apavrta.

Again, the original sequence of the stanzas is preserved; st. 14-15, 17, 19, 4-5, here omitted, are clumsily intercalated tirades on Tistriya's rehabilitation.

Between the stanzas in which all beings look out for Tistriya's rising, and the following ones, which tell what he does after his rising, a connecting sentence is required, predicating that the star appears. This sentence stands today in st. 32, a-c:

us pati aðāt hištati tištriyo rēvå hvarnahvå zrayahaða vurukrtāt

then he uprises,
Tištri ya —
from the sea Vurukrtam.

The remaining verses d-i of st.32 deal with Satavēsa and are displaced. The authentic form of the ablative zrayahaða vurukrtāt is only preserved in st. 47, and the corrupt sentences must be corrected accordingly.

13: purviyå dasa xšapāno tištrīyo rēvå hvarnahvå (krpam - - rēθwayati)
[āti] rōxšnušva vazamno

narš krpa panča.dasaho

xšētahya spiti.doiθrahya brzato avi.amahya amavato hunaryānčo

16: bitiyå dasa xšapāno tištriyo rēvå hvarnahvå ⟨krpam - - rēθwayati⟩ [āti] roxšnušva vazamno

gāuš [krpa] <sup>+</sup>zari.sruvahya

18: θritiya dasa xšapāno tištriyo rēva hvarnahva In the first ten nights

Tištriya - (he assumes the shape - -)
[comes] driving among the luminaries
in the shape of a fifteen-year-old
man,

a lordly, clear-eyed,
high, very-strong,
powerful, athletic one.
In the second ten nights
Tistriya - (he assumes the shape - -))
[comes] driving among the luminaries
in the shape of a bull with golden
horns,

In the third ten nights, Tištriya - - ⟨krpam - - rēθwayati⟩
[āti] rōxšnušva vazamno

aspahya [krpa] arušahya srīrahya zari. gōšahya zaranya awiδānahya

20: āt pati avāti - tištriyo rēvā hvarnahvā
avi zrayo vurukrtam
aspahya krpa arušahya
srīrahya zari gōšahya
zaranya.awiδānahya

21: ā dim patiyanš niždvarati
dēvo yo apavrto
aspahya krpa sāmahya
krvahya krva.gōšahya
krvahya krva.baršahya
krvahya krva.dumahya
daγahya awiδāta.trštoiš

22: ham tāčit bāzuš baratō

tištriyasča rēvā hvarnahvā dēvasča yo apavrto tā yuδyaθō θri.ayaram θri.xšaparam ā dim bavati awi.ōjā ā dim bavati awi.vanyā dēvo yo apavrto tištriyam rēvantam hvarnahvantam

23: apa dim aðāt vayati
zrayahaða vurukrtāt
hāðra.masaham aðwanam
sādram urvištram nimrūte
tištrīyo rēvå hvarnahvå
sādram mē - - urvištram
āpo urvaråsča baxtam.....

(he assumes the shape of - -)

[comes] driving among the luminaries

in the shape of a white horse

in the shape of a white horse, a beautiful one with golden ears, with golden forelock.

Then he goes down,

Tištriya - -,

to the sea Vurukrtam,
in the shape of a white horse
etc as above.

Against him runs
the demon Apavrta
in the shape of a black horse,
bald, bald-eared,
bald, bald-maned
bald, bald-tailed,
mangy, with a forelock of —
The two lay hold of each other
with the forehand

Tištriya - and the demon Apavrta,
they fight
for three days and three nights.
Then he, the demon Apavrta
overpowers him,
then he defeats him,
Tištriya - -.

He drives him away
from the sea Vurukrtam
a distance one hāθra long.
Woe, harm! shouts
Tištriya - Woe to me ... harm
to you, plants and waters, ill luck!

26: āt pati avāti - tištriyo rēvā hvarnahvā
avi zrayo vurukrtam
aspahya krpa arušahya
srīrahya zarī.gōšahya
zaranya.awiðānahya

27: ā dim patiyanš niždvarati dēvo yo apavrto aspahya krpa sāmahya krvahya krva gōšahya krvahya krvahya krva.baršahya krvahya krva.dumahya daγahya awiδāta. trštoiš

28: ham tāčit bāzuš baratō

tištriyašča rēvå hvarnahvå dēvasca yo apavrto tā yuδyaθō (zaraθuštra, instead of:)

[θri.ayaram θri.xšaparam]
ā rapiθwinam zrvānam
ā dim bavati awi ōjå
ā dim bavati awi.vanyå
tištriyo rēvå hvaranahvå
dēvam yim apavrtam

29: apa.dim aδāt vayati
zrayahaδa vurukrtāt
hāθra.masaham aδwanam
uštatātam nimravate
tištriyo rēvå hvarnahvå
uštā mē - - uštā āpo urvarāsča
uštā ā bavāt dahyavo
us vo apām aδavo
apati.rtå jasanti
aš.dānūnāmča yavānām

Then he goes down,
Tištriya - -,
to the sea Vurukrtam,
in the shape of a white horse,
etc. as above.

Against him runs
the demon Apavrta
in the shape of a black horse,
etc as above.

The two lay hold of each other with the forehand,

Tištriya - and the demon Apavrta they fight

[for three days and three nights] till the time of midday. Then Tištriya - overpowers him, he defeats him, the demon Apavrta. He drives him away from the sea Vurukrtam a distance one hāθra long. Felicitation shouts Tištriya - luck to me ... luck to you, waters and plants, luck has come to you, lands! The canals of your waters shall gush forth unantagonized to the fields with large-grained corn,

kasu.dānūnām (ča) vastrānām to the pastures with small-grained (grass),

(gēθānāmča astvatīnām)

30.a: āt pati avāti - - Then he goes down,

tištrīyo rēvā hvarnahvā Tištriya - -,

avi zrayo vurukrtam into the sea Vurukrtam".

In 13,c (and 16,c; 18,c) the text has unmetrically krpam rēθwayati rōxšnušva vazamno, made worse by the following narš krpa etc. Yt.8,45 another bad passage, has a fščiθ rēs va sa vištāi yo afščiθ rēb yo/āti rōxšnušva vazamno "(to Tištriya) the mightiest among the afščiθ ra stars who comes with the afščiθ ra stars, driving among the luminaries ..." The double afščiθ ra clearly reveals a systematic division of the stars in afščiθ ra and others; this system is contradictory to the term rōxšnušva which signifies all, not only the afščiθ ra stars. The system is younger than the hymn. The beginning of 8, 45 is unmetrical, the end metrical: the beginning has been added to the end, which, with its, verbāti, is taken from our stanza 13,c. āti must be inserted into the gap of two syllables in 13, c. It had to be supperssed, when krpa rēθ wayati was introduced there.

rē $\theta$  wayati<sup>1</sup> is related to Gath. roi $\theta$  wan, the Pahl. transl. of which  $vim\bar{e}xt$ , agrees with Shahr. Er. §38, flight of Spandārmat before Frasyāk: and ar  $\bar{o}$  zamīk gumēxt "after having mixed, i. e. concealed herself into (her) earth". Thus, rē $\theta$  waya is a synof Aw. framīta in Yt. 19, 9: framīta aspahyakrpa, and means "to conceal, cover, disguise".

The authentic text was clearly "Tistriya [comes] driving among the luminaries in the shape of ..." But a general predicate "T. uprises from the sea and assumes various outward shapes, [in the first ten nights one, in the next another]" is indispensable be tween 32, c and 13, a. The verse krpam  $r\bar{e}\theta$  wayati is two syllables short, and best filled by  $\theta$  rayo (or tišro with plur. krpo) 'three'. This had to be omitted, when the sentence, the original place of which was before the description of the three forms, was put into that description, thrice repeated.

<sup>1.</sup> According to Wb. "a denom. Pres. of  $r \bar{e} \theta$  wan, vermengung?" without etymology, cp.  $r \circ i \theta$  wan in Y. 31,7; but according to Benveniste, Inf. avest.' p. 32 'injenctif de vouloir", "que soient remplis", viz. the celestial spaces with light.

St. 18,f: I don't know of white horses with yellow mane and tail, but this is the imaginary picture of the Tistriya horse. zaranya.-awiðāna, Pahl. transl. zarrēn vardān, NP. expl. "its rux, cheek, is of yellow colour".- Aw. awiðāna evidently belongs to OI abhidāni 'halter', and MP. vardān survives in Osset. vidon to which the significations 'halter, rein, bridle' are ascribed. Darmesteter translated awiðāna by "caparaçon, saddle cloth"; Bartholomae by 'with golden bit"; Lommel, who interprets also Aw. awiðāti in Yt. 9,26 by "anschirrung", translates "with golden harness (geschirr)". All this is impossible, for, even as Vrthragna appears in Yt. 14,23, and 25 as a wild tragelaphus and ibex, thus Tistriya is a free horse, not broken to a saddle nor a carriage horse, and he could not fight Apavrta with bit, bridle and harness.

The halter is tied around a horse's head, or the horse is tied to something by the halter; OI abhidāni and Aw. awiðāna, hence, must belong to Skr.  $\sqrt{d\bar{a}}$ ,  $d\bar{i}$ ,  $d\bar{i}$ ,  $d\hat{e}$ ,  $d\hat{i}$ ,  $d\hat{e}$ ,  $d\hat{i}$ ,  $d\hat{e}$ ,  $d\hat{i}$ ,  $d\hat{e}$ ,  $d\hat{i}$ ,  $d\hat{e}$ ,  $d\hat{e$ 

Its opposite, in st.21, g is  $da \gamma ahya awi \delta \bar{a} ta$ . trštoiš, a reading not quite certain, for the verse has nine syllables. The preceding verses describe Apavrta as black horse with hairless ears, mane and tail. It has the mange, which is evidently the meaning of  $da \gamma a$  to  $\sqrt{dag}$ - 'to burn'. Thus,  $awi \delta \bar{a} ta$ . trštoiš has two qualifications: it continues the sequence ear, mane, tail, and it is opposed to zaranya.  $awi \delta \bar{a} na$ . That leads to "forelock" and agrees with  $r \bar{o} x \check{s} ni$ .  $awi \delta \bar{a} ta$  epithet of the fravarti referring to their hair-dressing. All Assyrian and Achaemenian sculptures show the horses' forelock artificially dressed, plaited round with ribbons, in some cases so little natural that one must think of wigs.  $awi \delta \bar{a} na$ , then, would be Gr. \*amphidēma, almost diádēma, just as  $rox\check{s}ni$ .  $awi\delta\bar{a} ta$  corresponds to Gr. liparo. krēdemnos, epithet of Demeter. tršti is obscure, it might be 'terror' or 'thirst'.

<sup>1.</sup> This cannot be right: a halter has neither reins nor bridle, and reins and bit are different things. If actually used for all these things, the word must have a much wider meaning.

awi $\delta$ āna and patidāna-Pahl. expl. padām "which one binds around the cheek, bar rux mībandand, while singing prayers"—belong together, objectively and linguistically. In Yt. 5, 123, where Anāhitā is "seizing", drā žimnā, the patidāna with her hand, it must be some kind of veil, krēdemnon, not (Wb.) "ein auf der Brust (unter dem Panzer) getragenes Brusttuch". And in Vid. 14,9, list of the equipment of a ra $\theta$ ēštar, where it stands after zrā $\delta$ o 'cuirass' between kuriš 'collaret?' and sāravāra 'helmet', it seems to be a tiara of felt with cheek-pieces worn under the metal helmet.

St. 21,b: dēva, as adjective to a pavrta, in the original conception a serpent or dragon that keeps back the rain¹, may signify 'worm, serpent', NP. kirm, as when used as adjective of zarmyangura. But dēvo yo apavrto is metrically weak, and dēva may have replaced an older word of three syllables.

hāgra is half an Iranian stadium, about a third of a mile.

St. 23 and 29: "Woe to me, woe to you, waters;" is genuine, but the redaction has changed the text, and one can no longer recognize what else-if any thing at all-was said in the original. Ahuramazdāh and the mazdayasnian religion, in the present text, clearly indicate the period of the redaction, but did not yet exist at the time of the original myth, and are out of place. uštatāt, as opp. to sādram lit. abstr.n. of uštā 'wish', is the expression of the wish, the exclamation itself: hail or luck!

St. 29: a.pati.rat, un-antagonized, is in Zoroastrian language the term for the state of the world after the final defeat of Evil; generally, pati. rta is the enmity between two natural adversaries, as between Tištriya and Apavrta.-Lommel translates aš. dānu and kasu.-dānu by "with many and few grains," which would imply different quality, while the distinction is only one of kind.

The three times ten days are the month Tištriya. After the thirty days, the star fights Apavrta. In the first round which lasts three days and nights Tištriya is defeated; he is victorious in the second round only, which ends "at the time of midday"

<sup>1.</sup> Reading and interpretation are due to Wackernagel, Festschrift für Kuhn p. 158 f. Freviously read apaosa, archet. 'PVRT,

One asks at once: Of which day? The line mentioning the day is lost, but the strict parallelism of the verses leaves no doubt that it was θriayarm θrixšaparam as in st. 22, and that these words have been lost, when "oh Zoroaster ..." was introduced; for the myth is not only pre-Zoroastrian, but pre-Iranian. Tištriya appears three times ten days in the sky, fights Apavrta twice three days, and disappears in the ocean, until his reappearance in the next year.

Therewith the myth and the hymn might be complete in analogy to the myth of the fight for the ahvarta hvarnah "hvarnah that needs no food", in Yt. 19,46-52 where, after two rounds between the Fire and the Dragon, a third figure, Apām Napāt, carries away the hvarnah, his property, to the bottom of the sea. However, the Tistriya myth does not end there, but is continued by several stanzas, similar in form and contents, which speak of the star Satvēsa. Upon the setting of Tištriya in st. 30 a-c followed next the rising of Satavēsa in 32,d-i, the stanza from which we have detached above the verses a-c, the beginning of the Apavrta fight.

30,a: āt pati avāti - tištriyo rēvā hvarnahva avi zrayo vurukrtam

Then he goes down, Tištriya - -, into the sea Vurukrtam.

32,d: us +āt hištāt satavēso rēva hvarnahva - - zrayahada vurukrtāt āt tat dunmān ham.hištanti us.hindavāt pati garoit vurukrtahya>

Then Satvēsa, the rich, the fourtunate, will rise from the sea Vurukrtam. Then the fogs gather round the mountain Us.hindu, (yo hištate maδyam zrayaho (which rises from the midst of the sea V.>

33: (āt tat) dunmān fraša upayati He makes fog come up beyond mēγa.karo - - - -

[measure],the cloud-maker [Satavēsa],

fra purvo vātām vazati

The frontal one of the winds [S.] blows;

(yām paθo āti hōmo frašmiyo fradāt.gēθο) aθra pasčēta vazate

thereto, backwards (N.), the wind

vāto (daršiš) vāramča mēγa-

mča (fyahvamča) «avi aså avi šoiθrå avi kršvān yāiš hafta»

blows rain and clouds (and hail).

40: āt meγa us.fravånte +yahuvā+ āpo barantīš +huyāryå+ rvātīš awrå

Then the clouds are blown near, in which are the waters pregnant with good harvest, moving with rain,

 $pr\theta u$  api vijasatīš avi rvātīš hafta kršvān

travelling far away, moving over the seven kršvar.

47: āt āpo ava.barante tāta rvāθra bešaziya tå avaða vibaxšati ābyo dahyūbyo savišto

Then the waters pour down, zrayahaδa (hača) vurukrtāt [coming] from the sea Vurukrtam dripping, rinsing, healing. He metes them out,  $ext{the}$ very-mighty one, to those

countries,

yaθa ēm bavati yašto xsnūto friθo patizanto

where he receives sacrifices, is obeyed, loved, honoured."

St.33,a-b: The text has frašāupayati, a wrong contraction of archet. PRŠ 'VPYTY. Like the adv. frašam, this fraša is used with ellipsis, cp, Yt.10,8: Mithra frasa upasěindayati "destroys beyond (repair)", Yt. 14,3: the arrow fraša āti, "flies beyond (the target)", and the n. abstr. frašak r ti "making (the world) beyond (combat, antagonism by the Evil)". upayati, which Wb. attributes to a theme yā-, is, in view of the common form upāti, certainly a causative. The subject is mēγakaro (thus instead of mēγakara). In a hymn of high antiquity, the fog cannot be called rtavan as in the text; artāvano, there, is a mazdayasnian substitute for a word of four syllables, subject of the sentence together with mēvakaro, and probably satavēso.

St.33: purvo vātām vazati and pas čēta vezate are opposed like parva nēmāt and paska nēmāt in Yt.16,2, and mean two opposite points of the compass. Stars and fogs arise from the zrayah -which therefore cannot mean 'lake' but only 'ocean' - at the Us. hindu, the mountain "in front of, opposite the mouth of the Indus", and the wind blows the clouds over the Aryan lands, Erānshahr. And since the whole conception is connected with the stars whose appearance differs with geographical latitude, but not longitude,

purva and paséēta can only mean "south (wind)" and "northwards". The gen.pl. vātam is as doubtful as the form vāto in the function of a nom.pl. in several passages. purvo vātām in the Indian Ocean should be one of the monsoons, called ul-hāvand and frōthāvand, lit. "up-lord" (SW) and "down-lord" (NE) in the Bundahishn. Iran lies outside of the monsoon zone, but its winds and rains are indirectly connected with them.

uzīrat, uzīrantam- regular term for the rising of stars-and uzjasantam in st.15, 36 and 41-42, mean the beginning of the period of visibility, for only upon the visibility, not the changing hours of the nights, the thoughts and hopes expressed in those verses depend. On the contrary, pati avāti in 20 and 26, the stanzas on Tištriya's fight, means a single setting of the star, because it takes place for a special action. In st. 30, no action follows. Why does Tištriya go into the sea?

The expression us pati histati in 32 occurs only once more, in Yt.19, where it means the resurrection of the dead. us pati histati referring to Tistriya in 32,a and to Satavēsa in 32,d means the rising of the stars after their long period of invisibility. There is no connection between Tistriya's setting in 30,a and his rising in 32,a. The end of 30, "in shape of a white horse etc" must be expunged, for it is illogical that the star would assume a special shape to become invisible, and the words are a mere repetition of st. 18, 20 and 26. Therefore, st.32, a-c stands in a wrong place; its right place is before 13ff, the description of the three shapes the star assumes. There, the verses, at the same time, bring fulfilment of the hopes expressed in the preceding verses and introduce the three shapes of appearance.

The sequence of st. 30, 32, 33, 40 and 47 is convincing as to thread of thought and to syntax. In 30, a-c, Tištriya sinks below the horizon for the current year, in 32, d-i Satavēsa rises for his period. The text has us a  $\delta \bar{a} t$ , the metre requires us  $\bar{a} t$ , and a  $\delta \bar{a} t$  seems to be taken over from 32,a.-st.32,i yo h i š ta t i etc, is a gloss in prose, as is the inadequate line 33,i on the path of Hōma. When Satavēsa rises, fogs, dunmān (32,d) gather around the Us. hindu mountain whose place, according to that gloss, is "amidst the ocean", wher as the name means "in front of (the mouth of) the

Indus', cp. Pomponius Mela's insulacontra Indi ostia. St.33,a repeats dunmān; the words āt tat, exceeding the metre, come from 32,d and disconnect awkwardly the two dunman. The mēγakara Satavēsa makes the fogs increase "beyond (measure)" and the southwind drives then northwards. The final verse, again, contains the word mēra, beside vāra 'rain'. The text adds fyahvam 'hail', unmetrically, and there Satavēsa does not bring destruction to the crops. St 40 begins with the wind blowing the clouds over the whole world. They are called "full of rain, full of ā po, waters that bring good crops', and this ā po is resumed in 47: the waters fall on the lands where Satvesa is worshipped. The plur. fem. of the participles in 40 cannot possibly refer to the neutr. mēra, and instead of the unconvincing construction proposed by Bartholomae in Wb., the difficulty solves itself by the exchange of huyāryā and yahuvā at the begining of band c; then, the participles refer to the fem. ā po.

In the present arrangement of Yt.8, Tistriya seems to be the subject of st.47, but no name is mentioned, and to whom the adj. savišta refers can only be inferred from the true connection of the stanzas. St. 43, too belongs probably to Satavēsa, although in its present position Tistriya seems to be the subject:

43: vispāiš nēnižati sima He washes off all illnesses apaya važdrīš uxšyati with water (?), he makes grow the healing herbs,

vispā (s. ta) dāmān bišazati he heals all creatures.

These verses enlarge on the thought of 47, c: tātå ryāθrå bēšaziyå. The edition gives važdrīš, following cod. Fl, but J 10 writes vazdarš; Wb. interpreted the word erroneously as "participle (mit spruhendem Wasser) fahrend"; Lommel leaves it open: "er lässt alle wachsen, adding "all" which is not in the text, but must have been there instead of apaya: VSPY for 'PY; cp. Yt. 14, 29: tanuvo vispayå drvatātam, tanuvo vispayå vazdvar (acc.). Andreas interpreted vazdvar by 'leadership'; it is related to Gath. vazdah, Y. 49, 10, in the old dvandva vazdā avēmīrā, which - through važdrīš 'medicinal plant' - finds its explanation as "nectar and ambrosia".

Likewise as physician, this time under his own name,

Satavēsa is described in the poorly transmitted verses of Yt. 8, 9: tå āpo frašavayati satvē- Those waters, then, Satavesa  $\mathbf{so}$ drives

avi hafta kršvarīš vyāhva yat jasati srīro

hištati rāmaniva huyāryå avi dahyuš (kaδā āryå dahyāvo huyāryå bavanti?)

to the seven regions of the earth, When the beautiful one arrives at child-birth,

he stands (still) peacefully, over the lands with good crops".

The question at the end is a meaningless repetition from st. The remark about the kršvar, ungrammatical in form, comes from st. 40, perhaps caused by the word huyārya common to both. The verses are preceded by "Tištriya goes into the sea and makes surge up the waters", viz. the surf of the sea. Then: "Satavēsa drives these waters ...", in fact other waters. viz. the clouds. The fissure is evident. Nor is there any connection with the following st. 10. We have nothing but a short disconnected fragment. Previous translations erred in seeking a context of eschatological meaning:- vyāh va (loc.) appears once more in Yt. 13, 10, (= 22 and 26), where the fravarti "uphold" the embryoes "so that they won't die in birth, vyāhva". The same signification is possible here: the fragment said something about Satavēsa's influence on child-birth. The god who has power over seed and crop, is also a healing god.

Satavēsa appears only once more in the Awesta, in Yt. 13,43-44:

43: tå hrzanti satavēsam anter zām asmānamča tat. āpam zavana. srutam tat. āpam uxšyat. urvaram

θrāθrāi pasvå vīrayå

The fravarti let go Satavēsa between earth and heaven, him who pours rain, hears when called him who pours rain, makes grow the grain, for the protection of cattle and men, θrāθrāi āryānām dahyūnām for the protection of the Aryan

provinces

OrāOrāi gāuš pančahiyahya

avahe nārām rtānām.

44: vi antar zām asmānamča satavēso vijasati tat. āpo zavana. sruto

tat. āpo uxšyat, urvaro

srīro bānuvā roxsnamā

θrāθrāi etc as in 43

for the protection of the five kinds of animals, for the help of the pious men.

Between earth and heaven
Satavēsa travels along,
he who pours rain, hears when called,
he who pours rain, makes crow

he who pours rain, makes grow the grain.

the beautiful, radian with, intense light,

for the protection of etc...

zavana. srut, OI. havanasrůt-, also in Yt. 10,81, with the thematic filxeon of the late language, an indication that the passages are not really old. In Yt. 19,33 ApāmNapāt has the similar epithet zavana. savam (acc.), Wb. "helping", perhaps better "healing when called."

In 44, the very original of the hymn is quoted, in faultless metre, narrative form, nominative of the third person. In 43, the same stanza is subordinated to the thought that the Fravarti "let go", put into motion the stars, like race-horses. The formula tå hrznti causes a faulty metre in b. The effect does not reach farther, because the accusatives have the same number of syllables as the nominatives.—St. 44 has nothing to do with the Fravarti; it existed before, and the verses have been introduced into the Fravardin-Yasht, when it received its present shape, merely to give an example of the activity of the Fravarti. The fact that Satavēsa appears in this very archaic yasht does not prove that the star was known, while the conception of the Fravarti as spiritus moventes of the universe was still alive. Tistriya, who surely was known in that high, pre-Iranian antiquity, does not appear in Yt. 13.

On the other hand, the verses of Yt. 13, 44 might well be a part of the old hymn preserved in Yt. 8, where their place would be between us histati zrayahaða and āt tat dunmān in st. 32, or after st. 47. There are other instances of old hymns scattered over more than one Yasht.

Not all the three formulae with  $\theta r \bar{a} \theta r \bar{a} i$  and the one with a value are of necessity original. They may have been fashioned after the model of Yt. 13, 10 for use in Yt. 13, 43 and then been repeated in 44. On the contrary, the epithets  $sr\bar{i}ro$  etc, which are missing in 43, are certainly authentic. Since the question "Will the Aryan provinces have a good harvest?" appears in st. 36, the words  $\theta r \bar{a} \theta r \bar{a} i \bar{a} r y \bar{a} n \bar{a} m$  dahy  $\bar{u} n \bar{a} m$  "for the protection of the Aryan provinces" in 13,44 must be considered to be original, and since Satavēsa is connected in Yt. 8 with the mountain Us. hindu "in front of the mouth of the Indus", Indus-Sind is one of these Aryan provinces. Sind was an 'Aryan province' only during the Achaeminian period, hence the Aryan provinces are  $\bar{a} r y \bar{a} n \bar{a} m x \bar{s} a \theta r a m$ , the Achaeminian empire, and the Satavēsa verses can only be a work of the Achaemenian epoch, older, but not much older than the Mazdaysnian redaction.

That is all the Avesta has preserved concerning Satavēsa. He appears in a myth of the Achaemenian period as a star rising after Tistriya. Tistriya appears 30 nights in the sky, fights and defeats in 6 nights the dragon Apavrta who keeps back the rain.

After thus having freed the waters, Tištriya sinks into the ocean. From then on, Satavēsa rises and with him come clouds and rains. In scientific language that means: the heliacal rising of Satavēsa takes place on the 37th day after that of Tištriya and is the beginning of the rainy season.

This myth, as the entire yasht, describes Tištriya as the natural adversary of dužyāram "bad year, bad harvest, famine", the work of Apavrta. The late stanzes on Tištriya's rehabilitation express this thought by saying the fights parīkām yå dužyāryā yām martiyakā avi dužvaćåho huyāryām nāmaōjate, the bad-fairy Bad-year whom vulgar-speaking people call Goodyear". In Yt. 8, 56, the same essential quality Tištriya is the reason for his rehabilitation: yat zi — āryå dahyāvo +awi. šaćyarš¹) dātiyam yasnamća vahmamća ya $\theta$ a hē asti

<sup>1.</sup> Wb. 1583 attaches awi. saćyarš to the verb sak— "konnen, lernen", not attested with prev. awi, and gives it the hypothetical meaning "wenn sie dächten an". In view of awi.sak— Gr. epispómenos, <a wi, × √ hak—, I prefer the readidg awi. šačyarš. The frequent confusion of s and s goes back to manuscript of the period of Ardasīr I, when, e.g. in the Fahl. Psalter, medial s and s were scarcely distinguishable.

dātiyatamo yasnasča vahmasča --- noit ibra āryā dahyāvo franš hyāt hēna noit pāmā noit kapastiš noit hēnyo rabo noit uzgrfto drafšo "if the Aryan provinces would follow Tištriya's worship and praise, as prescribed by the law, in the way the worship and praise, strictly following the law ought to be—neither hēnā, nor flood, nor cattle plague, nor pestilence, nor the chariot of the enemy, nor the (ir) lifted banner would come over the Aryan provinces!"

The author first speaks in a prolix official style, then falls into verses or what were verses. dužyāram 'famine', indispensable because of the relation of st. 56 to 15, 53 and 55 and because of the entire tenor of the yasht, is here omitted. On the other hand. hēnā "hostile host", i.e. war, is overemphasized by the addition of ra $\theta$ o "chariot" and uzgrfto drafso "uplifted banner". In Yt. 14, 48, where the same verses reappear, addressed to Vrthragna, the god of war, such emphasis and the omission of femine, are justified. Hertel's attempt, in IIQF VII, 157, to scan the verses as they stind, makes only more apparent how badly they are preserved. hēnā and hēnayo rabo etc cannot have been separated by all the intervening words uzgrfto drafso certainly was a compound adjective to hena, as in the only good passage where the word occurs again, Yt. 13,37: fravartayo puru.spā $_{\delta}$ å uzgrfta. drafšå. When restoring dužyāram, indispensable in a Tistriya hymn, and when replacing the negation noit by mā, as is necessary after detaching the verses from the context, we obtain as original form:

mā iθra āryā dahyāvo franš hyāt

hēnā uzgrfta. drafšā mā ra $\theta$ o

mā dužyāram mā voiγnā mā pāmā mā kapastiš (10) Not shall come here over the Aryan provinces.

(10) a hostile host with uplifted banners, not a chariot

(4) not famine

(10) not flood, not cattleplague, not pestilence!

Such a prayer, not addressed to any special god and perhaps originally composed in verses of ten syllables, could easily be used with slight modifications for one or the other god. The yashts offer many analogies to such a precedure.

In the inscription Darius Pers.d one reads:

manā ōramazdā upastam
baratu
haða visēbiš bagebiš
uta imām dahyāum
ōrmazdā pātu
hača hēnayā hača dušyārā
hača drōga
abi imām dahyāum mā
ajamyā
mā hēnā mā dušyāram

mā droga

(12) To me Oramazdā shall bring succour,

(8) with all the gods,

(12) and O. shall protect these provinces

(10) from hēnā from dušyāram,

(4) from  $dr \tilde{o} ga$ ,

(10) Over these provinces may not come

(10) not war, not famine, not drōga!

The Awestic verses speak of war, flood, cattle-plague, pestilence, and, originally, of famine, all naturally associated thoughts. In the inscription it is war, famine and a religious-philosophical abstraction, drōga. That is not popular, rather incongruous. Dròga does not belong to this sphere, but has been introduced for the sake of a religious theory, which is also expressed, several times, in the Behistun inscription, thus in \$10: drōga dahyavā vasē abava "droga did as it liked in the country", or \$54:dahyāva imā tyā hamið iya abava drōga diš hamið iyā akunoš tya imē kāram adružyaša "the provinces here, which became disloyal, drōga made them disloyal, because those (the men mamed in \$53) made the people drug-ish". Finally \$55:

haća drōgā daršam patipayahvā "Beware strictly of drōga! yadi avaθa manyāhē (8) if you think thus:

dahyāuš.mē drvā ahati! (8) My land shall be safe!" There too, the author, at the end, falls into verses. In Pers.d, voi?nā 'flood'. one of the group war, famine etc, is lacking, and it is obvious that the non-pertinent notion of drōga supplanted voi?nā. The original text once was: mā hēnā mā dušyāram mā 'vaignā.

That means that the Awestic passages and the inscription have a common source. Darius' scribes follow the same rules as the redactors of the Awesta: both introduce Zoroastrian notions into pre-Zoroastrian verses. The redactors of the Awesta did not retouch just these verses, and thus it came to pass that the inscrip-

tion is more Zoroastrian than the Awesta, which uses the pre-Zoroastrian form at a time when Tistriya was reinstalled by the dāta (dātiya, dātiya tama of Yt. 8, 58) given by Artaxerxes II.

The designation parikā dužyāryā "bad fairy", for the neutr. dužyāram, reveals an even later shifting of the original notion, scarcely older than the gloss "whom people of vulgar language call huyāryā". As in the analogous passage of the Vidēvdād, the vulgar language means Pahlavī as opposed to Old-Iranian, and the gloss belongs to the Arsacidan period.

While there is general agreement abut Tistriya being Sirius, the identity of Satavēsa is still an object of controversy. The name means "the one with a hundred bondsmen", similar to MP. hazārbanda.

Mr. M. P. Kharegat, the scholar to whose memory I dedicate these lines, in his work "The Identity of some Heavenly Bodies mentioned in the Old-Iranian writings" had recognized, in Satavēsa, the star Canopus, a result accepted by Sayyid H. Taqīzādeh. The name Canopus is of Egyptain origin. The Greeks saw the star in Rhodos, under 36°20' N. Lat. The Babylonians called it Eridu, because it represented in their macrocosmic system that port on the Perisian Gulf. The Arabic name is Suhail. It is the brightest fixed-star after Sirius, in the constellation Carina of the southern hemisphere.

Recently, H. Henning contested this identification, going back, as J. J. Hess before him,<sup>2</sup> to Saussure's equation Satavēsa = Antares in Scorpius, on the strength of one positive and one negative reason. The negative reason is the great southern declination of Canopus which is not visible north of 37° N. Lat. "The scholars who are inclined to find the 'home of the Awesta' in North-Eastern Iran (e.g. in Merv.), will be unable to accept Kharegat's opinion". Merv, in brackets, apparently alludes to Nyberg's theory; Henning chooses Balkh as example. - Unanswerable questions are wrongly put.

<sup>1.</sup> The Jamshetji Jejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Volume, 1914, pp. 116-158, a book the copy of which I owe to the friendship of the author.

<sup>2.</sup> Henning in Oriental Studies Payry, p. 137; Hess in "Le système cosmique sino-iranien", J. As. 1923.

The Awesta as a whole, like the Bible a book the genesis of which extends over a full millennium, has no 'home'. The home of the last redaction is the study of scholars, irrelevant where they lived. Only pre-Awestic fragments preserved in it can belong to a specific region and period. Among them are quotations from epic poems from which the Shāhnāmeh dascends. He who speaks of the 'home of the Awesta' is not aware of the essential difference between the two unconnected things, the epical and the religious material. The epic tales have a place on earth, the oldest pre-Iranian stratum has places outside Iran; but hymns and prayers are not bound to a locality. They originated in various periods and regions. These are the unknown quantities which one can attempt to determine only in every single case. And if in our case the identity of Satavēsa and Canopus-Suhail can be proved, the declination of the star has the ascendency over the inclination of modern scholars: al-'alīmina sharafahum al-Suhailu.

Iran extends between 25° and 37° N. Lat.; in Susa, 32°, and Persepolis, 30°, one sees Canopus even as in Babylon and Memphis; the Satavēsa verses are not pre-Achaemenian, and there is no support for the assumption that the Aryans had known the star in prehistoric antiquity. Thus the negative objection is of no consequence. Kharegat, foreseeing it, wrote (p. 21): "An object need not be visible throughout a country to be taken notice of by its people. The knowledge of terrestrial objects such as mountains, rivers etc. is not confined to the region in which they are visible, and a different rule cannot apply to a celestial object".

Like Tištriya, Satavēsa, the cloud-maker and rain-bringer, rises from the sea Vurukrtam in which stands the mountain Us. hindu; of Tištriya it is also said that he sinks into the same sea. The rain comes from this sea. The scholars who search for the illusive 'home of the Awesta' in North-east-Iran or beyond, consider the sea to be the Caspian, and yet locate that home in Marw, Sughd or Balkh, where the Caspian is just as invisible as Canopus, and where one could only conceive the belief that the stars sink into the Caspian, but never that they rise from it. That could only be true for people living at the mouth of the Wolga. The Us. hindu mountain alone forbids the identification

of Vurukrtam with the Caspian. Besides, the sea Satavēsa and Pūtika, home of the monsoons ul-hāvand and frōt-hāvand, are parts of Vurukrtam which stretches as far as the southern point of the Harā brzati, the mountain encircling the earth; hence, Satavēsa and Pūtika are the eastern and western half of the Indian Ocean between the mouth of the Indus and Cape Guardafui; zrayo pūtikam is the sea of Pūt, Eg. Pwn.t.¹

Henning's positive reason is: the name satavēsa enters into that of the 17th Sogdian lunar station, mṛn-sdvys, which corresponds to the 17th Indian station mūla and the 19th Arabic station shaula "sting of the scorpion". "Although Sgd. mṛn is not known, we may safely infer that mṛn-sdvys is a kind of appendix to that star (or constellation) that bore the name of Sadvēs". Henning's conclusion is: satavėsa=Scorpius or its main star Antares.

This conclusion is not safe. If Sadvēs had ever been the name of the entire constellation, myn could not mean "sting", for Sadvēs does not mean "scorpion". Without this meaning there is no analogy, hence no reason to assume that Satavēsa was the name of the constellation. The Greeks, too, did not comprise it under a single name. myn can be any qualification to Sadvēsa, e.g. one distinguishing the star from the true Satavēsa, as Kharegat assumed, when dealing with the equation myn-mula-shaula: "The names Satavēsa and Sadvēs are the same, but I do not think that the stars are the same," with reference to names of stars occurring two and more times in Arabic and European atronomy. The Arabs count, I believe, five Suhails, distinguished by qualifying adjectives.

General reasons, must of them already adduced by Kharegat for his identification, are: As chief of the southern stars, Satavēsa must be a very bright one, and Canopus is only second to Sirius-Tištriya, with whom it is connected in the yasht, and to whom it is near in time and space. The star was also vene-

<sup>1.</sup> This problem is treated in detail in a manuscript, still unpublished, "Zoroaster and His World".

<sup>2.</sup> The equation was recognized by E. Sachau, in his "Albertoni's Chronology", transl. p. 288.

rated by Egyptians, Babylonians, Persians—cp. Anwar-i Suhailî—and Arabs. The Arabs call Sirius one of the "sisters of Suhail"; the other one is Prokyon in Canis Minor. The Indians called the star agastya and ascribed to it, as the Iranians did similarly to Satavēsa, the power of purifying the water. At last, a cogent proof in itself, the Satavēsa sea was part of the Indian Ocean.

A star as southern as Conopus cannot have been known to the Aryans in their aboriginal home, the Duāb of Turkistan, but only in their new abodes, India and Iran. Therefore it cannot have a common name inherited from Aryan antiquity. If the name of the star were etymologically the same in Sanskrit and Iranian, it could not be Canopus; but the names differ, and the triple identity of a gastya = satavēsa = Canopus is possible.

In his refutation, Kharegat made his caculations for Lambda Scorpii, not Antares, a diffarence not important for our problem. Lambda Sc. rose heliacally, in the latitude of Iran and about 500 B.C., about five months after Sirius; Canopus, on the other hand; in 25° N. Lat. 34 days (July 9—Aug.12), in 30° N. Lat. 41 days (July 14—Aug. 24) after Sirius. The Apavrta myth makes Satavēsa rise on the 37 day after Tištriya. A calculation for 400 B.C. and 30° N. Lat. (Persepolis) would reduce the small difference by half a day. That fits, whereas the five months difference between the rise of Tištriya and Scorpius would make the whole conception of the myth impossible.

Furthermore, Lambda Sc., and so Antares, are zodiacal stars, and Satavēsa cannot be one of them, for Vand-Ohrmizd says in the Šāyast nē Šayast 1,6: "If one of the zodiacal stars is visible besides Tištar, Vanand (Vega) and Sadvēs, the gās. dayperiod, is to be kept on, otherwise it is to be given up". It is not only in this passage that the three great stars are opposed to the zodiacal stars. The idea behind the rule is: they remain visible when the twilight already extinguishes the zodiacal stars. Therefore, Stavēsa cannot belong to the constellation of Scorpius.

The definition of Vand-Ohrmizd is the remark of a late astronomer; for the people who formed the myth and arranged their peasant's life in accordance with these stars, there was no

such distinction, only a divine rain-bringer in the sky. Kharegat quotes reports from modern Gazetteers, e.g. that of Kacchi<sup>1</sup>): The stars by which the cultivator is guided are Katti, Brah. Paur (Pleiades), whose appearance in the early morning in June heralds the period when floods may be expected; Treru or Trangar (Cassiopeia) which appears about the 27th of Sanwar (July) and bids the cultivator hasten his preparations for sanwari sowings; Ludho, Brah. Ludav appearing about the 15th of Bhaira (August), a signal to the cultivators that the season of Juar sowing is over; and Sohel (canopus) with its forerunner or 'witness', shāhid or agavan which warns the cultivator that the end of summer is near, and that his buffaloes will shortly cease to soil in the water. Thus Katti and Treru govern the Juar cultivation, the principal sanwari crop, whilst Ludo and Sohel are the stars which guide the cultivator in all matters relating to the wheat, the principal crop of the Sarav harvest. Sohel is believed generally to bring three showers of rain in its train....The cultivators believe them (these phenomena) to be universal on the whole of the earth<sup>2</sup>".)

This picture is, unintentionally and unknowingly, almost a paraphrase of those verses of Yt.8. in which all beings look out for, and count by the rise of Tistriya-Suhail. The conditions in southern Iran to-day are the same as those which the Iranians encountered when immigrating. One cannot import them when migrating from one home under a different sky to another climate.

<sup>1.</sup> by Major C. H. Minchin, p. 65.

<sup>2.</sup> Mr. Kharegat corrected: "The names in Kacchi are the sindhi, in Makran etc Balochi. Katti, from Skr. krttikah, are the Pleiades, Bal. Paur, from Ir. parv or parvin; they rise heliacally in Balochistan on the 6th or 7th of June. Treru, Trangar, Bal. Tirband, i.e. girdle, is not Cassiopeia, but the row of three stars forming the "belt of Orion", Date 27th July is too late about a fortnight, reason: shifting lunar months. Ludho, from Skr. lubhdaka, the "Hunter", is Sirius. Date 15th of August is probably too late about a fortnight, same reason. Schel is Canopus; in LasBela it is called Aith, from Skr. agastya". In §28 he remarks: "Schel - Canopus - Aith, heliac, rise in 25° N. Lat, 23, VIII, in 30° N, Lat. 3. IX, seems to be the principal star of Balochistan. It gives its name to the autumn season consisting of September and October; also to one of the nine periods of 50 days each into which the agriculturists and flock-owners divide the year. The Brahois give the name Schel to the month corresponding to Hindu Asvin, the Marris coll the autumn crop Scheli".

The conceptions must be those indigenous to the country.

There was an old rain-god in Elam whose cult still lingers on in the sanctuary of Nabi Daniel at Susa, between the palace mound and the river'). The detailed accounts of the early Arabs prove the sanctuary of that rain-bringer to be at least of Achaemenian age. The burial of the relics is ascribed to Abu Mūsā al-Ash'arī, in 639 A.D.-But at Dēr, mod. Badrai, one of the main prehistoric towns of the region, the god MUŠ (snake), son of the main goddess Nana, 'queen of Dēr' and mār bīti "heir of Dēr"—who is closely related to the main god of Susa, Inšušinak, son of Innana—had also two temples, one ša pān bīti 'in front of the (main) temple', the other ša birit nāri "in the river", and the analogy shows that the cult of the rain-god came down from times immemorial.

The mythical thinking of peoples in new surroundings absorbs such notions without abandoning older ones. If then, we find overlapping and contradictory ideas, if, in Iran, Apām Napāt, Ardvisūrā, Tištriya, and Satavēsa all are active in the same sphere, it is because conceptions of different phases and regions coexist without having been brought into a system. Everywhere local conditions are believed to be universal, as the Gazetteer remarks. The conception of Satavēsa as rain-bringer was autochthonous in Elam. The Iranians associated it with their own picture of Tištriya. Satavēsa is not a name or a figure of the "Aryan period", but was known to the Irnians since the Achaemenian time.

That was long before, in about 1000 A.D. the name minsdrys appears as that of a lunar station in the Sogdian lists, clearly as term of scientific astronomy. Sadvēs is a Persian name; possible min, unknown in Sogdian, is also a Persian word. Such scientific terms cannot be projected back into high Sogdian antiquity. But just as the Arabs multiplied their name Suhail, in Sogd, where this star itself is not visibles, its name may have been admitted—when the Sogdians took over Hellenistic and Per-

<sup>1.</sup> Cp my description in "Damascus", in Ars Islamica 1944, (pp. ?).

sian astronomy—into the names of stars as a second Canopus-Suhail, qualified by the equithet m?n which cannot mean "sting" of the scorpion. Inspite of the objections raised against it Mr. Kharegat's identification, stands: Satavēsa=Canopus=Suhail and the region and period in which the hymn was formed is determined by this indentification, not by the inclination, the prejudice of modern scholars to find the 'home of the Awesta' in northern Iran.

#### IRANICA

## By ERVAD BOMANJI NASARVANJI DHABHAR

# 1. PAHLAVI Lupy XVANTAR.

This Iranian word is very rarely met with in Pahlavi literature. In printed texts, only the Dinkard furnishes one instance thereof. In texts as yet unpublished, it is found to be used twice—once in 'Tahmuras Fragments' and a second time in 'Yasnas with Nirang' (i.e., with ritual directions), e.g. of Rustam Gushtasp (A.Y. 1090). Of course, its Semitic equivalent is generally met with, e.g., the ideogram Leginery or Leginery KRITUN-tar i.e. avantar or xvantār, for Av. zbayēntē Pah. Yasna 20.3-Sp. p. 105.16) and for Av. zāvīm (P.Y. 314-Sp. p. 133.6). For the non-Iranian menels KRİTÜN-tan=Iranian negg xvāntan or neg xvāndan 'to read, recite,' See PPG. p. 17.6 and Fr. P. 23.4 (p. 63). This is equal to  $\mathrm{NP}.$  خواش  $xvar{a}ndan$  or خواش  $xvar{a}ndan$  or  $xar{u}ndan$ : cf. also  $\mathrm{NP}.$  خواش xvanish, or xūnish 'reading,' and خونتك xvananda 'a reader, reciter' besides خوانده xvānanda. It is to be further noted that, except in Pazand and Turfan-Pahlavi Texts which both have been divested of all Semitic elements, the Iranian synonym of the ideogram וריותים KRITUN-tan, viz., ווררך xvantan or ונקר xvandan and its conjugational forms are also extremely rare Book-Pahlavi,—only one instance of it is found in print∈d Pahlavi Texts, e.g. GrBd 147.14 gives or xvānd (TD.) or sign xvānand (DH.) for the correct rest xvānēnd. Now, as noted above, as the word  $\lim_{x \to \infty} x vant \bar{a} r$  is only once met with in the Dinkard, the two translators thereof, viz., West and Sanjana have quite missed the mark in the reading and interpretation of the word. The passage in which this word is used is only another version of Av. and Pah. Yasna 19.5 and a close study of the latter would settle the matter once and for all. This Yasna passage means:—If a reciter recites the Bakān Ahunavar quite correctly, then it is equivalent to the merit accruing through the recital of one hundred Gathas, but if one recites it somewhat negligently, then even it is worth the merit of reciting ten Gathas, i.e., in the first case, the reciter of the Ahuna-vairya gets a hundred per cent. spiritual merit, whereas, in the second case, he gets only ten per cent. of it.

I. The passage runs thus (See DKS. Vol. 18 p. 60=DKM, p. 874):—

Ahunvar fratūm bazisn ī-s nām Bahān Ahunvar andar yazisn-i ka xvantār asūtakīhā srāyēt pa 100 ratih-i Gāsān; ka  $xvant\bar{a}r$   $as\bar{u}takih\bar{a}$   $sr\bar{a}y\bar{e}t$  kirfak u ka  $xvant\bar{a}r$  (Text:- $vit\bar{a}r$ ) sūtakīhā [text wrongly asūtakhā] srāyēt ētōn ī yazišn ō bavēt ćigōn 10....apar garān vināsih i xvantār [text xvatār or avitār wrongly] i Bahān Ahunvar. In a ceremonial, if the reciter (xvantār) recites without negligence  $(a-s\bar{u}tah\bar{u}h\bar{a})$  the first part of the Ahunavar, whose name is Bakān Ahunavar, it is equivalent to (the recital of) one hundred select Gathas.. If the reciter (xvant $\bar{a}r$ ) recites (this) without negligence (a- $s\bar{u}tah\bar{\imath}h\bar{a}$ ), it is a merit; but if the reciter [ $xvant\bar{a}r$ : text  $\frac{1}{2}$   $vit\bar{a}r$  wrongly] recites it negligently (sūtakīhā: text - asūtakīhā wrongly), then such invocation is equivalent to (the recital of) ten (Gathas).....About the grievous sinfulness of the (incorrect) reciter (xvantār: text \(\sum\_{\text} xvatār\) or avitār) of Bagān Ahunavar.' This text compared with PY. 19.5 whence it is borrowed requires emendation as shown in the above translation. In this short passage, the word Leng avantār 'a reciter' is used four times. In the first two cases, the orthography is quite correct, but in the last two cases where  $\sum_{\kappa} vit\bar{a}r$  and  $\sum_{\kappa} xvat\bar{a}r$  or  $avit\bar{a}r$  are respectively used with a defective orthography, they both should be changed to  $2\pi x x ant \bar{a} r$ only, in accordance with the correct sense of the passage. Sanjana's and West's reading and meaning of these terms are not at all satisfactory (see S.B.E. 37 and Sanjana's translation in DK. Vol. 18). There is another word in this short passage which requires special mention. The word - asūtakīhā is used thrice here. In the first two cases, it is in conformity with the general meaning, but in the third case it should be changed to -- sūtakīhā, i.e., the negative a should be elided; (For further remarks, see the following No. 8:— see sūtak).

The mistake on the part of the two translators of the Dinkard

seems to have arisen from the fact that the word  $\sum_{x \in \mathcal{X}} xvant\overline{a}r$  is here used with a short a and not with a long  $\overline{a}$ , as is usually given in Pazand texts; but we meet with the word written with a short 'a' in (I). Turfan Pahlavi (see 'Researches in Manichaeism' by Jackson, p. 84 and p. 125) as  $xvan\overline{i}h\overline{i}st$  with a short 'a' besides  $xv\overline{a}n\overline{i}h\overline{a}d$  with a long  $\overline{a}$ , as well as in (II) Book-Pahlavi also, as can be seen from this and the three following cases, and further the word is attested in (III) NP., not only with a long 'a' but with a short 'a' also. (See NP. examples quoted above).

II. The following quotation in which the word  $\sum_{E|K} xvant\bar{a}r$  'a reciter' occurs is given from 'Tahmuras Fragments,' otherwise known as  $Pursisn\bar{\imath}h\bar{a}$ . Darmesteter has translated the Avesta portion of these Fragments in ZA. 3 p. 53 and in S.B.E. IV p. 276 with remarks on their Pahlavi version in the Notes. This important MS. is now in the possession of the late Mr. B.T. Anklesaria's family. It was copied by the late Dastur E.S. Meherjirana, who has deposited it with his whole collection in the Navsari Meherjirana Library (See No. F 24 of his Catalogue) whence the following extract is given:—

عو بن من ولاس الهناس عا الله عن سوه سرم عالة من يالد الم لحج س ك ولا يوت عد ān Ašəm 6 ka xvantār nē gōwēt, vaš saxvan andar gōwēt šāyēt  $ay\bar{u}p$   $n\bar{e}...n\bar{e}$ : 'If the reciter (xvant $\bar{a}r$ —here the Rathwi or the assistant priest) does not recite the six Assm, but speaks out (something) in the midst, is it proper or not?—(It is) not (proper). Notice that the word  $\lim xvant\bar{a}r$  is here also used with a short a. Here the recital of the six Asom refers evidently to Y. 11.10 (end of Haoma Yast). After the cup full of Para-haoma (Hōm-juice) is placed in the palm of the right hand of the Zōti (the officiating priest) by the Rathwi (the assistant priest), the former alone goes on reciting Y. 11.10, but the three Asem at the end of the section are recited together both by the Zōti and the Rathwi. Thereafter, they both stop the recital and the Zōti drinks the whole of the Para-haoma (Hōm-juice) in the cup in three equal draughts, when at every such draught that the Zōti quaffs, the Rathwi utters one Asom, i.e., six Asom in all are recited by the Rathwi in this ceremonial (See Yasna bā Nirang,' p. 60, by Tahmuras Anklesaria —See the text with the ritual directions). In ZA. 3 p. 65 note,

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Darmesteter says that this ceremonial refers to that of the Barsam, but, as shown above, this refers only to the drinking of the Haoma.

III. Another passage where \(\frac{1}{\rm por}\) \(xvantar\) occurs with a short a is found in the ritual directions given in several 'Yasnas with Nirang,' e.g., See 'Yasna with Nirang' of Rustom Gushtasp (A.Y. 1090). (See No. 83 of the Catalogue of Avesta and Pahlavi MSS. in the Mulla Firoze Library):—

Asom 3 xvantār gūftan, dast hać Barsam ul stātan u sar i Zohr nihūftan, Sroš-darūn xvartan: 'The reciter (xvantār, i.e., the Zōti) should recite the three Asom. (Thereafter) he should remove his (left) hand from the Barsam, put a lid over the Zohr and partake of the  $Sr\bar{o}$ š-Darun ( $\bar{c}\bar{a}$ š $n\bar{i}$ )."

IV. In DKS. Vol 10, p. 10 (Pook 5) the word reser xvatakih (better reserve xvantakih 'recital') occurs in connection with reserve dēn-mānsar, i.e., the Avesta, and the committing of it by heart (11813) in narm kartan). Just below, the author speaks of its recital (xvantakih) in ceremonials and praise of the Yazads and Amshaspands thus:—1502-160 1 1502-100 [better reserve] reserve vaš xvantakih [reserve text reserve xvatakih] pa Yazišn u stāyišn. Sanjana reads the word in question hu tagīh 'good vigour'. It should be noted that this abstract noun from xvantan 'to read, recite' is also here given without the long ā.

## 2. PAHLAVI كالاكمة TUGRĀK-I

This is the opening word of the Sassanian-Pahlavi Hajiābād Inscription. See E. Thomas ('Early Sassanian Inscriptions,' 1868), West (Sassanian Inscriptions explained by the Pahlavi of the Parsis—J.R.A.S. 1869), Haug ('Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary', pp. 48-49—1870 and 'Essays', third edition, p. 87) and Herzfeld ('Paikuli', p. 87 and p. 206). The last three trace the word to a Semitic source and take it in the general sense of 'an edict'. Herzfeld also suggests the Iranian saxvan for this supposed ideogram (M)-TAGLAHI. Thomas takes it as an Iranian word and reads it pataglāhā, prefixing an initial P to this opening word of the

Inscription and as a plural form of NP.  $\Rightarrow$  paikar 'form, image, figure' (text p. 74) and takes it to mean 'representations' (Trans. p. 98). All this seems to be far-fetched. The word in the Inscription is simply t-g-r- $\bar{a}$ -h-i i.e.,  $tugr\bar{a}$ +hi, and as Haug remarks "hi is no suffix, but h is only the gutteral which follows final vowels in Pahlavi words and in the books is generally represented by k". Hence the correct reading should be tugrāk-i the last i being the definite article  $y\bar{a}$ -i-ta'rif ((y)), i.e., the word, as it stands in the text, can be read  $tugr\bar{a}k$  without the slightest effort. Now we have a pure Iranian word (y) 
#### 3. THE PRESENT TENSE IN PAHLAVI.

Besides its usual formation from different roots, the present tense, in Pahlavi, is very often formed from the participle root in 16-ta, i.e, the participle stem, in a great number of cases, takes the place of the present-root, as will be noticed from the following examples culled at random from Book Pahlavi. (See, also, W.Z.K.M. Vol. 29 p. 43 and Salemann 'A Middle-Persian Grammar, p. 94 (tr. Bogdanow)):—

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(9) Dk. Vol. 14.56; GrBd. 10,14; ) very b\bar{u}xt\bar{e}t
                                                               \underline{\mathfrak{su}} b \overline{u} j
     revire patvastēt
(10) Dk. Vol. 8. 433.9
                                                           อแคย patvand
(11) Dd. 8.1,3,8 and Ch. 79.10 even by frahaxtet even by frahamj
     and Ch. 81.6
                             skow) e friptend
(12) Dk. Vol. 18,1.8 and
                            l removoe friptar{e}t
             18,12.7 \text{ and}
                             ยาคราวย frīptōm
          ,, 19,41.10
                              Cf. P.Y. 10.15 every efrip\overline{o}m
                                                                ele tarp
                                ruspo tarftēnēt
(13) PY. 11.5
                              rixtar{e}t ,, ,,
                                                              v > r ar{e} j
(14) Nir. 80.4; 91.6
(15) DK. Vol. 19.52 Function z = z \bar{a} y \bar{i} h \bar{e} t^1 Pres. rt. The z = z \bar{a} e
(16) DK. Vol. 13.24 (BK. 7) Reserved rawih\bar{e}t^1
                                                               nees rav
(17) Dd. Pors. 17 p. 40.8 e^{-i\phi} xvartih\bar{e}t^1
                                                       ,, ,, 15 men xvar
(18) Sp. Vd. p. 51.7; Hošang's
                                \} neerow sp\bar{o}xtitan ,,
                                                             લાશ્ચ spōj
       Vd. p. 153 (note)
(19) Hoš. Vd. p. 414 \
                              revure liartiliat
     (P. Vd. 9 § 47)
 (20) PY. 29.8a
                        * vinditend
                                                                 in vind
                             or vinditēm
(21) DK. Vol. 11.66.8;
Nir. 92.4 and PY. 9
(Hoš. Vd. p. 414) } ~~eves gumixtēt
                                                              છક્\epsilon gum ij
 (22) Fr. P. 19.10-p. 68 rerew \hat{s}at\bar{e}t
                                                     pres. rt. (?)
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The last form & Šatēt (Paz. Šabēt) is never found in Book Pahlavi, but we have always therefor the ideogram & ŠKBHUN-ēt instead. The verb SKBHUN-tan is used in Pahlavi for Av. sī 'to lie down', e.g., Vd. 3.24 and Vd. 18.5—Av. saēta, saētē = Pah SKBHUN-ēt and Vd. 3.25 and Vd. 18.26—Av. sayamna = Pah. SKBHUN-ēt and Vd. 3.25 and Vd. 18.26—Av. sayamna = Pah. SKBHUN-ān and these ideograms are read in Iranian as nisāyēt and nisāyān respectively by Barth. from a supposed Iranian infinitive nisītan which is not met with in the Frahangs (see AIW. col. 1571.72). For this ideogram PPG. (p. 15.11) gives the Irannian equivalent new vandātan(?)

<sup>1</sup> For this Iranian word, its ideogram, with the participial stem ending in it is used.

which is also found in a note in Junker's Fr.P. 19.10 (p. 58). By eliding the first letter of this verb, Junker gives the Iranian meet  $vad\bar{a}tan$  (?) for the ideogram and following Barth. reads it as if it were written mean  $nis\bar{a}tan$  'to lie down.' Reichelt in Fr. 6., p. 25 also follows Barth. and reads  $nis\bar{a}y\bar{e}t$  (Av.  $sait\bar{e}=Pah$ . England ŠKBHŪN- $\bar{e}t$ ). Haug's remarks ('Essays', p. 366 note 3) on the ideogram are not correct. Nyberg ('Hilfsbuch' II p. 163) coins a new Iranian equivalent niyastan (Av. rt. ni-as 'to come down, alight' for the ideogram. Lastly, Bailey (BSOS. Vol. VII part 4-p. 777) says that were satet may be related to Av. fsānaya, Pah. INCOUR af sāndan—NP. af sāndan, all having an Iranian base san 'to scatter'.

#### 4. PAHLAVI المناوا VĀSĀN¹

I. The last clause of the well-known Ahuna-vairya prayer yim-drigubyō. dadat.  $v\bar{a}st\bar{a}rom$ . and the corresponding clause in Gatha  $Vahi\dot{s}t\bar{a}$ - $i\dot{s}t\bar{\imath}$  (y. 53.9)  $y\bar{a}$   $orožojy\bar{o}i$ .  $d\bar{a}h\bar{\imath}$ .  $drigaov\bar{e}$ .  $vahy\bar{o}^2$ , as well as the clause  $driguby\bar{o}$ .  $v\bar{a}st\bar{a}rom$ .  $\dot{c}inasti$  in Y. 19.14 are very nearly translated alike in Pahlavi with the Pah. word  $vas\bar{a}n$  for Av.  $v\bar{a}st\bar{a}rom$  and Av.  $vahy\bar{o}$  in all cases except in Y. 19.14 where we get  $vas\bar{o}$   $vas\bar{o}$ 

(1) مراوعه عمران والمحمد مراوعه المدومة والمدومة (1)

 $k\bar{p}$   $\bar{o}\bar{e}$   $\bar{i}$   $r\bar{a}st$   $z\bar{i}vi\dot{s}n$   $drig\bar{o}\dot{s}$   $dah\bar{e}t$   $v\bar{a}s\bar{a}n$ . Here Sanjana (S.) reads  $veh\bar{i}g\bar{a}n$  'comforts' and West (W.) reads the same way in S.B.E. 37.302.

(2) من المن عمر المدومة المدوم

 $k\bar{s}$   $\bar{o}\bar{e}$  i  $r\bar{a}st$   $z\bar{i}vi\dot{s}n$   $drig\bar{o}\dot{s}$   $v\bar{a}s\bar{a}n$   $dah\bar{e}t^3$ . S. reads  $veh\bar{i}shn$  'happiness' and W. in S.B.E. 37.384  $v\bar{a}yag\bar{a}no$  'delights.' Barth.

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, pp. 4-5 to my 'Zand-i Khurtak Avistāk' where this word is succinctly treated.

<sup>2</sup> See DKS. Vol. 18.57.5 (Commentary of Varstmansar Nask on 53.9).

<sup>8</sup> See DKS. 19.77.8 (Commentary of the Bak Nask on Y, 53 and  $Airyam\bar{a}$   $i\bar{s}y\bar{o}$ ) and PY. 53.9 (Spiegel p. 201 l. 10)—here Neryosang translates ' $Sam\bar{a}dh\bar{a}nam$  for  $\bar{a}s\bar{a}n$ ,

here, i.e. in Y. 53.9 reads  $\bar{a}s\bar{a}n$  (See AIW. Col. 1406) and Mills also in his 'Gathas' p. 392 gives  $\bar{a}s\bar{a}no$ . The glossist here explains  $v\bar{a}s\bar{a}n$  by  $n\bar{e}vak\bar{\imath}h$  (see the following No. 6).

#### (3) المحمد المحم

kā ō drigōśān dahēt vāsān.¹ Here W. gives vāyagāno 'allotments' (S.B.E. 37.6) i.e. W.'s copy must have the correct  $v\bar{a}s\bar{a}n$  instead of  $v\bar{a}s\bar{a}n$ , as read by Barth. and Mills and as given by Sanjana in his Pah. Vd. p. 144 note, l. 7 (=Y. 27.13).

### (4) मिलामा मार्चे । स्ट्रिंड स्थाने र हो। ह

friendly' and W. (S.B.E.37.307) vehagāno 'benfits'. Comparing the above passages as well as the following instances, here the wrong  $\bar{a} = \bar{a} = \bar$ 

#### 5. ابوداہد ابوسا می کی کیورجد کے ابھ

 $k\bar{s}$   $\bar{o}$   $r\bar{o}b\bar{a}k\bar{e}n\bar{i}t\bar{a}r$  ehrpat  $v\bar{a}\dot{s}an$  dahē $t^3$  Here both S. and W. (in S.B.E.37.330) read va  $a\dot{s}avan$  ('righteous') for the correct  $v\bar{a}s\bar{a}n$ .

## 

vas aē drigōsān niyāyisn cāsit bavet Here the wrong المنابقة niyāyisn certainly stands for the correct المنابقة vāsān which can be ascertained from Neryosang's āhāram 'food, fodder'. Again, the gloss مقدم nēvakih here shows that this passage corresponds to that of PY. 53.9 which gives the same gloss المقدمة nēvakih (see above, No. 2). Mills reads the word here v'āsāyisn in J.R.A.S. West in S.B. E. 37.458 translates 'ministration', but a Pahlavi MS. with Persian version correctly reads the word الماء parvarish 'nourishment, nurture.'

<sup>2.</sup> DKS. 18.16.3 (Commentary on Yathā of the Bak Nask).

<sup>3.</sup> See DkS. 19.4.5. (Commentary on Y. 31 of the Bak Nask).

<sup>4.</sup> See Sp. PY. 10.14 (p. 102.15). Here Neryosang gives āhārah 'food' quite correctly.

That the word  $(\pi \cup \neg \cup)$   $n \bar{i} y \bar{a} y \bar{i} s n$  is sometimes confounded with  $(\pi \cup \neg \cup)$   $v \bar{a} s \bar{a} n$  and  $(\pi \cup \neg \cup)$   $v a x s \bar{i} s n$  can be seen from the following examples:—'Zd. Kh. A' p. 369 note 22 (§2) where for the proper  $(\pi \cup \neg \cup)$   $(\pi \cup \neg\cup)$   $(\pi \cup \neg\cup)$ 

It should be here noted that the general gloss of  $v\bar{a}s\bar{a}n$  as found in the MSS. is  $v\bar{a}s\bar{a}n$  as found in the MSS. is  $v\bar{a}s\bar{a}n$  (as shown here and in No. 2 above)— $v\bar{a}s\bar{a}n$   $v\bar{a}s\bar$ 

1πυλου 1πυπου 1πυπου 1πυπου 1πουπου 1

رح ولهاس بورسوس ر رسومه و مدنه وسراء (7)

ō drigōśān ayyārīh u vāsān dahiśnīh¹ Here the DK. text gives νίπαεικη which S. translates 'destruction' quite incorrectly.

(8) الموتما يمال م المولي م المولية وه

apar patmānak-i rōwišn vašān bahar vāsān². About the extent of their movement (i.e., of the cattle) and the share of (their) fodder ( $v\bar{a}s\bar{a}n$ ).

S. reads  $b\hat{a}r$   $\bar{a}s\bar{a}n$  'light burden' and W. (S.B.E. 37. 83)  $b\hat{a}r$   $va\ khas\bar{a}n$  'their pregnancy and growing old' (?)

(9)  $\sum_{|S| = 0} \sum_{|S| = 0}$ 

For once, Sanjana and West (S.B.E. 37.67) give the correct reading and meaning of the word in question, vasan 'fodder'. Barth. (mit-Iran Mund. II 17-24) gives the reading vehīkān (pl. of

<sup>1,</sup> DKS. Vol. II 109.18=DKM. Vol. I 96 ll. 8-9

<sup>2.</sup> DK.S. Vol. 16-5.2

<sup>3.</sup> DKS. Vol. 15.77.3.

vehīk) for  $v\bar{a}s\bar{a}n$ , on the supposition that  $v\bar{c}h$  'good' is also equal to  $v\bar{c}h$  (without the vowel i) (see Fr.P. 26.1 (= p. 65), but this is not convincing. Mills in his 'Dictionary of the Gathic Language', p. 460 derives  $v\bar{a}s\bar{a}n$  from Av.  $\sqrt{vavh}$  'to clothe, to put on, to fodder.'

- II. Some examples of the derivatives of المعنى المعاقمة المعاقفة - (b) μουκλο ο Δωρισμι, Δωρλο parvartār u vāsnītār-i drigōśān¹ S. and W. (S.B.E. 37.232) read āsnīdār or āsnutār 'cleaner, purifier.' But the word for 'a purifier' is generally Δωρισμω āsnōtār (See DKS. Vol. 17.23.12) or Δωρισμω āsnātār (see DKS. Vol. 17.24.2): cf. also Pah. Visp. 3 § 1: συμκρισμω āsnatārīh.
- (c) μη μπιμη λα μου μετας ν μιανοποιο μο τε κουν τε μου τε κουν τε μου νετας ν μετανοποιο μετανοπο

W. (in S.B.E. 18.40) translates 'decay' perhaps from Av. rt. nas 'to decay'.

(d) کسوروسر ۱۱۳۹۸ ایم مداله می مداند می مدور ایم مداند می مداند ایم مداند می مداند مداند می مداند مداند می مداند می مداند می مداند می مداند می مداند می مداند مداند می مداند مداند مداند می مداند مداند می مداند مدا

vaš zat Erān šatr a-vāsnitār.3

"He (Zūb Tahmāsp) smote the devastators (a- $v\overline{a}snit\overline{a}r$ ) of

<sup>(1)</sup> See DKS. Vol. 17.73.12 (Commentary of Ahuna-vairya in the Varstmänsar Nask).

<sup>2.</sup> Dd. Pers. 16 p. 37.11.

<sup>3.</sup> DKS, Vol. 13,12.9 (Book 7)

the Iranian country." W. (in S.B.E. 47.11) takes the following and  $dah\bar{\imath}g$  with  $a-v\bar{\imath}a-v\bar{\imath}asnit\bar{\imath}ar$  and translates 'village-terrifier', perhaps reading  $han\bar{\imath}k\bar{\imath}n\bar{\imath}t\bar{\imath}ar$  for  $a-v\bar{\imath}asnit\bar{\imath}ar$ .

## 5. PAHLAVI - WYUEI NĀMGĀNĪH.

This is a technical word used in Pahlavi for the continuation of the lineage of a dead person and the commemoration and recital of his name  $(n\bar{a}m)$  in the ceremonies or otherwise. The following passage from a Pahlavi work as yet unpublished throws light thereon:—

ال عم العلم ما المحمد المعلم 
I. Ka pus i patīraft fražand zāyēt ān i vitartakān aš nāmburtārīh bēt ayūp nē.... apar pusarīh u apārīk nāmgānīh pahusrubīh u nīrmat i vitartakān ažaš būt rāy ēn-ić gūwēt: izyēiti. zi. Spitama. Zaraθuštra. iristanām. urvānō. avat. haosravanhānhō. yaθa. aē tahmi. anhvō. yat. astvainti. kas-čit anhēuš. astvatō. astauštānaēća. haxēδrē. izyōiţ: kē-šān hāmak Spitāmān. Zartōšt ōēšān i vitartakān rūbān ān i and husrubīh u nāmgānīh pa gētih čīgōn andar axv i astōmand katārač-i [hač] axv i astōmand tan jān ham-brātakīh hāmak.

"If an adoptive son (of a person passed away) begets an offspring, then does the name and fame  $(n\bar{a}mburtar\bar{\imath}h)$  of the deceased arise through it or not?.....About (adoptive) sonship and again about the continuation of the name  $(namg\bar{a}n\bar{\imath}h)$  through him as regards the renown  $(h\bar{u}sr\bar{u}b\bar{\imath}h)$  and benefit  $(n\bar{\imath}rmat)$  of the dead, even this is said: O Spitaman Zartosht; their desire, i.e., the desire of the souls of those passed away is for such good repute and the continuation of their name  $(n\bar{a}mg\bar{a}n\bar{\imath}h)$  in the world, as in

<sup>(1)</sup> A rare MS. belonging to Mr. B. T. Anklessria. The passage is here extracted from a copy thereof made by the late Dastur E. S. Meherjirana.—See No. F. 24 of the Dastur's Collection in the Navsari Meherjirana Library.

this material world, any one [of this material world] desires the companionship of body and soul."

[ $v \in \mathbb{R}^3$   $v = \mathbb{R}^3$ ]  $v \in \mathbb{R}^3$   $v \in \mathbb{R}$   $v \in \mathbb{R}^3$   $v \in \mathbb{R}^3$   $v \in \mathbb{R}^3$   $v \in \mathbb{R}^3$   $v \in \mathbb{R}$   $v \in \mathbb{R}^3$   $v \in \mathbb{R}$   $v \in \mathbb{R}$ 

II. The same idea is expressed in the following passages from the Dinkart, where, in the first instance, instead of the technical word  $\neg v = n\bar{a}mg\bar{a}nih$ , the general term  $\neg v = v = n\bar{a}mikih$  'celebrity' is used:—

apar vinās i pus i patīraptak ka hač ān patīraptakīh apāć ēstēt zīndak vitart-ić pēt patīraptār ćigōn kāmakīh mart u ān-iċ i vitartakān rubān <u>nāmīkīh</u> i gētīh u yazišn u niyāyišn ō-iċ ān išān andar ān i xvēś mān hać āpātih išān frāj hilēnd u kunēnd,

"i.c., About the sin of an adopted son when he stands back

from that adoption, the acceptance ( $patirapt\bar{a}rih$ —text  $pat\bar{i}rapt\bar{a}r$ ) of a living, or even a departed father is because (it is) the will of the people and also for the worldly fame ( $n\bar{a}m\bar{i}k\bar{i}h$ ) of the soul of the departed, and they shall provide ( $hil\bar{e}nd$ —lit, 'let forth') and perform the Yasna and Nyāišn for those of them within their own dwellings, because of their salvation ( $\bar{a}z\bar{a}dih$ )."

 $n\bar{a}m$  u  $h\bar{u}srubih$  i vužurg  $ha\dot{c}$  kunišn i  $n\bar{e}vak$ , i.e. 'Exalted name and good fame ( $h\bar{u}srub\bar{i}h$ ) (result) from virtuous actions'. (See, also Py. 30.10c)

III Rivāyet i Hēmīt, Pors. 8 pp. 30-31:—

Stur kunisnih u gumārišnih u nāmgānih i pa gētāh, i.e. providing and appointing an adoptive son and the recital or continuation of the name  $(n\bar{a}mg\bar{a}n\bar{i}h)$  (of the deceased) in the material world.

Stūr u nāmgānīh i pa gētāh hilēnd vužurg sūt i tan u rubān, i.e., 'Providing of (lit, letting forth) an adoptive son and the recital or continuation of the name (nāmgānīh) (of the deceased) in the material world are great benefits (accruing) to the body and soul.

IV. Speaking of adopted-sonship, (stūrih), Dd. says:—
। ਦਾਰਦਾ ਜੇ। ਪ ਭਾ ਸਦਾ ਜਿਸਤਾ ਦਾ ਭਾਸ਼ਤਾ ਪ ਭਾਸ਼ਤਾ ਦਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ। ਦਾਰਦਾ ਜੇ। ਪ ਭਾਸ਼ਤਾ ਹੈ। ਦਾਰਦਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ। ਦਾਰਦਾ ਹੈ। ਦਾ

an i nazdiktar hać ham-nāfān kā pa ān i ōē nāmgānih rāyēnēt u patvand dārēt u xvāstak, i.e., 'One who is the nearest of the family who may conduct the nāmgānih of the deceased and may preserve the lineage and property.'

bility of an adopted son for one passed away) does not conduct the adopted-sonship, he destroys the stock of that household, throws off the  $n\bar{a}mg\bar{a}n\bar{i}h$ , dissipates the property and breaks the adopted-sonship.'

See S.B.E. 18 p. 188 and p. 193 where West translates  $n\bar{a}mg\bar{a}nih$  in both instances by 'entirety,' which is not correct.

V. In the Pah. Riv. (p. 14 ll. 3-0) it is said that if a child seven years old dies, then its soul resides in the Khurshid- $p\bar{a}yak$ . If its father is righteous, then its soul resides in heaven with the father; but if the father is wicked, and the mother righteous, then the soul of the child resides in heaven with the mother and if both parents are sinful, its soul goes to hell with its parents. Thereafter the text adds:—

אפשים אינים ביין און אינים ביין אינים אינ

VI. In the following passage of the Dinkard 15.83.5 the word -บาเรา กลิสหมักก์ห์ is used for the usual -บระเภ กลิสหมักก์ห์:— และบบระ เรยเร - บาเรรา เบบ ระเว กลิสหมักก์ห์:— สอง ระเว กลิสหมัก บาเลรา เรยเรา เรยเรา เรย ระเว กลิสหมัก เราเว ระเว เรยเรา เรา เรยเรา เรา เรา เรยเรา เรา เรา เรา เรา เรา เรา เรา เรา เรา

'About the grievous sinfulness of dissipating property (laid apart as a pious bequest) for the commemoration of the name  $(n\bar{a}mk\bar{u}n\bar{i}h)$  of the spirits'. West in S.B.E. 37.71 gives a different translation.

VII The word  $n\bar{a}mg\bar{a}nih$  again occurs in the Pahlavi Commentary of Vd. 8.22, but owing to its defective orthography. the three high-priests, Darab Sanjana, Hoshangji Jamaspasa and Jamaspji Jamaspasa who have edited the Pah. Vd., and Dr. West who refers to the word in S.B.E. have read and interpreted it quite

differently. More than forty years ago, the late Ervad Tehmuras Anklesaria had drawn our attention to the correct reading of this particular word in the Cama Memorial Volume (p. 294), quoting, in support, another MS. of 'the Commentary on the Pahlavi Vendidad' in his possession. (For an account of this MS, See West in Gr. der Ir. Phil:—'Pahlavi Literature,' p. 105). From a copy of this MS. made by the late Dastur E. S. Meherjirana and preserved in his collection in the Navsari Meherjirana Library (See No. F. 24), I am enabled to give the following quotation referred to by Ervad Tehmuras Anklesaria:—

"During those three days (i.e., the first three days after life has departed), nothing of meat should be prepared in the name  $(n\bar{a}mg\bar{a}nih)$  of one (who has passed away).

Another passage in support of this statement is found in SnS 17 § 2:—

Here West (S.B.E. 5.382) reads the word ham-gôshak and translates it as 'vicinity', connecting it with NP. gosha, but adds that the reading is doubtful. The Pah. Vd. 8.22 gives thereanent the following passage:—

وردمانان علم ما مدمور عدم المعروب إلى الم المدمور المدور 
ka  $\bar{o}$  yaštak-1 čēš nihāt ēstēt ka šāyēt pa hān gīvāk bē kunišn ka nē andar ham xānak pa nāmkēnīh i ōē bē kunišn gušt tāzak pa kār nē kunišn;

Spiegel's Pah. Vd. p. 110 gives the word week hamkenih. Sanjana (Pah. Vd. p. 146) gives we haminih and week

ham-huś, and prefers the latter reading, with the meaning 'the dawn (of the fourth day)'. Hośang (Vd. p. 319) gives ham-gôshak, and perhaps follows West in his reading and interpretation of the word. Jamaspii Jamaspasa, in his Pah. Vendidad with Gujarati reading and translation reads hamginih (as is given in Spiegel's Edition), but translates it huśbām i.e., dawn (of the fourth day after death).

## 6. PAHLAVI TOTUEUI NIPADAMIŠNIH

This difficult word which is variously read and interpreted may be correctly transcribed nipadamisnih and traced to Av. rt. ni-pad 'to lie down, to sit down'. cf. DKS. 14.82.4; 14.90.5; 14.96.11 and DKS. 16.52.11: — news nipaditan or nipastan to 'lie down'. (See W.Z.K.M. 29 pp. 17-18 where the word is read correctly by Barth.). Sanjana and West differ. Also, cf. Yt. 1,17: ka ul ustet ayup ka ul nipadast राज्या सेने एड एस राम्य सेने एड (Av. us.  $v\bar{a}$ . histo. ni.  $v\bar{a}$ . paidhyamnō = 'rising up or laying oneself down'). Here very nipadast may be changed to very nipadēt. Again, the causal of " nipastan is " nipāstan or nipāditan 'lay down, put' (See DKS 13 p. 47.8. p. 48.5 and p. 49.8). Nir. 41.16 gives www nipāstāk or nipādītak as opposed to www de awrāstak 'raised up'. The difficulty lies in explaining the insertion of the letter  $\epsilon$ -m in this word and its derivatives; but as Nyberg has well pointed out in his 'Hilfsbuch—Glossar', this  $\epsilon$ -m represents the Avestan pres. part. mid. termination — mna. In this way he explains the occurrence of  $\epsilon$ -m in the following words:—

ຮັບ awām, from an old Avestan form apamna—rt. ap (p. 13); garām (cf. ຂອງ: garāmīk) from garamna—rt. gar (p. 78); and ເພື່ອຢູ່ pazāmišn, from paćamna—rt. pak (p. 184).

Hence, on this analogy, Av. nipaidhyamna (pres. part. mid.) becomes = nipadem. See the following examples where (b) given a form = nipadem (rt. ni-pad) used as a noun:—

(a) — (a) — (a) — (a) — (a) — (b) — (a) — (b) — (a) — (b) — (b) — (c) —

lay thyself ( $\neg v \in v \in v \cap nipadem \bar{e}$ ) in bed for the sake of that (infant to be born)".

Sanjana and West (S.B.E. 47.30) read paémésh 'thou shalt quaff.'

apar  $\bar{a}r\bar{a}yi\tilde{s}n$  i zan pa pusratih hang $\bar{a}m$   $\bar{o}$  nip $\bar{a}dem$  u pus- $xvahi\tilde{s}n\bar{\imath}h$  i  $ap\bar{a}k$   $\tilde{s}\bar{u}i$  i.e., 'About the preparation of a wife
on (arriving at) the period of puberty in order to live with  $(nip\bar{a}dem...aw\bar{a})$  her husband and about her desire for a son'.

S.  $nip\hat{a}\hat{e}m$  'protection' (rț.  $p\bar{a}$ ) and W. (S.B.E. 37.100) va  $p\hat{a}\hat{e}m$  'and suckling' (rț.  $p\bar{a}$ ).

(c) According to Dd. 25.5 (p. 52), the soul of the wicked goes to hell — (1950 = 1950) process nipadamišnīhā u akām-tačišnīha 'joltingly (or, being tossed about) and running unwillingly.' W. (S.B.E. 18.56) reads napô-gumdânîhâ 'quiveringly.'

S. translates 'superior nature' (rt. pi) and W. (S.B.E. 37.207)  $l\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ -payamishnīh 'rousing up.' Again, both read  $v_{-}^{-}$   $vigr\bar{a}t$  (rt. gar 'to be awake') as virikht 'retreated' and  $v_{-}^{-}$   $vigr\bar{a}t$  is read  $g\bar{e}t\bar{i}h$  'the world', Hence the translation of S. and W. is not in order.

(e) With the above passage, cf. Hd.N. I.11:—

स्थानका नव्यक्ति नव्यक्ति न्या। नव्यक्ति किन्यु प्रद्राध । स्थानि न्या किन्यु स्था निर्मा स्थानि । स्थानि न्या किन्यु स्था कि

"When a man goes to bed and praises righteousness while starting up (ul-nipadmišnīh) from sleep and goes to sleep (again)..." of the above passage (d) where reactor red ul-nipadamišnīh is used in the same sense as here and which is the translation of Av. ustryamnō (rt. us star. lit, 'stretch oneself, rise up'). West in AVn. Gl. p. 130 reads lālā-nipimishnīh 'starting up, arousing' anā also suggests another reading upayamishnih (rt. upa +yam). Haug rightly says that it is the movement of one who turns in one's bed from sleep', hence, 'sta ting from sleep'. For this idea, cf. the Saddars:—(1) Saddar Nasr. Ch. 80 p. 56 § 8:—

انکه ارزش یکهزار است آنست که از خفین از پهلوی در پهلوگردی و درست بخوانی "That Asem whose value is as much as a thousand is when thou turnest from one side to another in sleep and recitest it correctly."

(2) Saddar Bundahish Ch. 27 § 7, p. 96:—

"When they recite an  $A\acute{s}em$  Volue on turning from one side to another while in bed, its value and worth is equivalent to  $Ir\bar{a}n$ - $\acute{E}ahr$ ." (See Steingass: تقرع tagara' = 'turning from one side to another; tossing about in bed.')

ma jeh āxēžē ō gīrišn ka-š zan ma gīr apāk nipadamišnīh ka-š apāk ma xvafs, i.e., 'Thou shouldst not obtain a wanton woman for use, that is, thou shouldst not take her to wife and lie with her ( $-c_{\overline{c}} = c_{\overline{c}} = c$ 

S. reads upayamishnih and gives the rt. ni+pi 'to nourish.' W. (S.B.E. 37.211) suggests the Av. rt. upa-yam 'to subdue', hence 'compulsion.'

(g) An exact parallel passage to the above is Vd. 18.64 (both Av. and Pah.) which has not been satisfactorily translated by scholars:—

srīšvatak mart ahrav.....ahrāyīh bē spurēt pa apāk upamišn. The corresponding Av. is: θrišum narš ašaonō.....ašavastahēća apayasāitē paiti-pasti. Av. paiti-pasti is here in Pahlavi τοθυ, κεν apāk-upamišn (better, apāk-upadamišn for nipadamišnīh.):—

"She, i.e., the whore (for this subject see Vd. 18§2) takes away one-third of (the vigour, might &c), and also the righteous man, if he lies with her."

## 7. PAHLAVI 9:00 NIHĀTAK.

This word which literally means 'laid, put apart' is technically used for pious bequests and trusts established by law and executed for charitable purposes, e.g., of the establishment and consecration of Fires, or of the Ceremonials of the Yazads and Amshaspands, or of the benefit of the souls of those passed away, etc. cf. the following passages:—

ka xvāstak rubān rāy pētāk kunēnd ažaš nihātak apar nihāt, i.e. "When a property is declared (to be used) for (the benefit of) one's soul, wherefrom a trust is established (for the ceremonials").

dar-i Yazišn u nihātak-i apar hēr-i ātāš u xvāstak-i rubān rāy nihāt pētāk kart, i.e., "On ceremonials and pious bequests or trusts (nihātak) announced in respect of the estate of the (sacred) fire and of property set apart and declared for (the benefit of) the soul."

 $Yazišn\ i\ pa\ n\bar{a}m\check{c}i\check{s}t\ nih\bar{a}tak\ nih\bar{e}t,\ i.e.,$ 

"A trust ( $nih\bar{a}tak$ ) is set apart especially for ceremonials or sacred services ( $yazi\tilde{s}n$ )." (See Barth: mitiran. Mund. II 10-12 and Bulsara 'Laws of the Ancient Persians.' pp. 186-87 and 206-209.)

This Pah. word word nihātak with its special and technical signification, passed into ordinary parlance and we find the word nihāda used in the Rivayats in this peculiar sense:—See MU. I 59 ll. 9-15 and its translation in H. F. Rivayat pp. 54 55

where we find المائة بدران كه فرزندان برگيرند 'Trust-property (nihāda) which the descendants appropriate to themselves'. This بهاده nihāda is here defined as المدرز خواسته andarz-i khvāsta 'Trusts about the property' (laid apart for the performance of meritorious deeds or kirfa)"— المناف 
This nihād is further defined in the Persian Version of the Patet-karda 9 in the same way as shown above thus:—

آن کرفهٔ مقرری که برای یشتن یزدان و امشاسفندان در خاندان خود است آنرا نهادگویند

"That meritorious deed ratified (magarrar) (by law) which continues in one's family for the service of the Yazads and Amshaspands is called nihād." Neryosang, in his Sk. version of the Patet defines nihād in the same way (See Collected Sk. Writings of the Parsees, Part I p. 41).

About nihātak, cf. the following further passages:—

In  $\tilde{\mathcal{E}}_{n}$  which is the following further passages:—  $\tilde{\mathcal{E}}_{n}$   $\tilde{\mathcal{E}}_{n}$ 

mart  $k\bar{e}$  nihātak nehāt ēstēt u pa tubānīkīh i ōē bē ōftēt tāk tan pasīn ān kirfak ō ravēt, i.e., "When a man establishes a trust (nihātak) and if it happens through his good ability (i.e., if the money is acquired by him through his own good exertion and regular industry), then that good work (kirfak) cotinues till the final existence".

אפריים בייטיים בייטיים Byt. ch,  $2 \S 25$  (b) jaśn u nihātak i pēśīnīkān, i.e., "The Jashin (ceremonies) and the trusts (nihātak) instituted by the ancients."

ரஸ்ச்சு ் நூரை நாரம் ் நூரை DKS. 12.41.8 & 45.6 (c) nihātak-i Yazdān—nihātak-i vēhān.

(d) Patet Irani (by Tirandaz, p. 412):— آئين و نهاد فوريودکيشان i.e. the Institutes and bequests of the Poryotkaeshas"

วิกาชาธิ -บา หากชาช -บาคาชาย กาย เพิ่มยาบ - อเชษา-- Py. 32 § 4 (d) nihātak i vēhān pa frārīnīh nihāt bē awganēnd, i.e.,

"They (the evil persons) dissipate the trust properties settled through virtue, or piety. Mills, 'Gathas', p. 102 translates

nihātak by 'nature' and West, in P.M.V. p. 193 by 'decision,' which is incorrect.

(f) Patet. karda 9:—Hosfrid-i Yāzdan u nihād-i patiraftak. Here also nihād may be taken in the sense pointed out above. Lastly, this seem nihātak is explained in DKS. Vol. 15.83.5 as

 $xv\bar{a}stak$  pa  $n\bar{a}mk\bar{u}nih$  i  $m\bar{e}n\bar{u}g\bar{a}n$  i.e., "property (laid apart) in the name of the  $Min\bar{o}y\bar{a}n$ " (i.e. the spiritual Yazads or the spirits, or souls of those passed away).

## 8. PAHLAVI 9PH SŪTAK

This word  $s\bar{u}tak$  is very often confounded with Pah. For  $s\bar{u}t$ , NP.  $s\bar{u}d$  'advantage, benefit' and translated accordingly, but For  $s\bar{u}t$  and its derivatives and Pah.  $s\bar{u}tak$  with its derivatives belong to two distinct categories, as shown below.

For arriving at the proper meaning of serv sūtak, reserve sūtakīh, serve asūtak etc., ef. (a) Yasna 28,10—Av. asūnā=Pah. serve asūtak. Neryosang interprets it quite correctly as analasah 'not lazy, diligent, assiduous' and Mills' 'Gathas' p. 408—asūtak 'not remiss', but Hang in his 'Essays' p. 341 gives asūtak = 'useless' and sūtak = 'useful', which is not correct. (b) See also Y. 1.21—Av. yēzi zaoša yēzi azaoša=Pah. [reserve ne] reserve ne les [reseves ne] sous ne les [reseves ne] sous ne les [reseves ne] sous ne les pa dōšišn [pa nikīrišnīh] kē pa adōšišnīh [pa asūtakīh] 'When with will [i.e., with intention] and when against will [i.e., through carelessness or remissness].' Again, Neryosang gives correctly nirikshanena and anirikshanena [pramādena] 'with intention and without intention, [i.e., through carelessness, or negligence inattention, inadvertance, oversight'] (See Mills' Gathas' p. 52).

(c) Again, cf. Y. 19.5—av. aipišuta and anaipišuta=Pah. In and I anaipišuta=Pah. It is indolence and without negligence or indolence.' (See Z. A. I. 165). Here the Pah. gloss to I anaipišuta indolence.' In anaipišuta=Pah. In anaip

be therefore connected with NP سود.ن sūdan 'to wear,' NP. موده sūdah 'worn, rubbed' and NP. سائيدن sāīdan 'to rub, wear.' See Horn, 'NP. Etym.' p. 166, who connects it with SK. çã 'to sharpen.'

In the following passages see sūtak, see asūtak etc. are used exactly in the proper sense of the words as shown above:—

म ७४७९७

ān i vīmār gōspand dātīhā darmānēnītan sardārēnītan vinās hač sūtakīh. 'Applying remedies to the sick cattle and guarding them, and the sin (arising) through negligence (sūtakīh).'

S. (Sanjana) reads -visūdagīh 'ruin,' and W. (West) in S.B.E. 37.82 has 'worrying' for sūtakīh.

bažak ān pa dāt, vinās ān pa sūtakīh, i.e., "Crime (NP. baza) is that which is (in relation) with the Law, and sin is that which is (in relation) with negligence ( $s\bar{u}tak\bar{\imath}k$ )."

Sanjana translates 'utility' for sūtakih, which is not correct.

tōžišn Pasūšhūrūn andar pas pa asajākīhā dāštan gōspand sūtakīh pa kār, i.e., "The punishment of the Pasuš-haurva (dog) during (his) watch for improperly tending the sheep, and for negligence (sūtakīh) in (his) duty." S. and W. (in S.B.E. 37.84) give 'worrying' for sūtakīh.

xvāstak hač mart pa sūtakīh ayūp pa nikīrišnīk vinās pataš apurīhēt, i.e., 'Property which is extorted (apurīhēt) from a man by negligence (sūtakīh) or intentionally, and the sin arising through it.'

S. "injuring" (sudagīh) and W. (S.B.E. 37.113) "worrying".

With the pa nikīrišn used with where no pa sūtakīh, cf. the following examples:—

יאָל אַפּט אַפּ אַר אָר אָפּט אָפּט אָפּט אָפּט אָפּע אַר Pah. Riv. 63.13 (a)  $\bar{e}$  ka pa sūtakih  $\bar{e}$  ka pa nīkīrišn, i. e., "whether negligently (pa sūtakih) or intentionally."

hamē pa sūtakīh tāk hamē pa nikīrišn, i.e., '[While, during the ricital, if a text (vājak) is omitted] unintentionally i.e. through negligence (pa sūtakīh) or intentionally.'

Bulsara, in his translation (N. p. 120) gives 'with advantage' for pa sūtakīh.

S. 'careful and avantageous beating' (?) and W. (S.B.E. 37.85) 'worryingly beating' (?)

apar vinās i bažišk pa sūtakīh, i.e. 'About the sin of a physician (arising) through negligence (sūtakīh)'

S. takes  $s\bar{u}tak\bar{i}h$  for  $vis\bar{u}dag\bar{i}h$  'spreading infection' and W. (S'B.E. 37.117) translates 'through handling' (NP. uices views in the simple 'to handle.)

apar apāmōmand apām čīgōn āīnīn nivēdēnītan apām xvēs pa sūtakīh nē patirēt, i.e.,

'About how a debtor has to announce the nature of the loan which the lender does not accept through negligence ( $s\bar{u}tak\bar{\imath}h$ )'. S. reads  $s\hat{u}dag\hat{\imath}h$  'interest' and W. (S.B.E. 37.142) 'through irritation.'

ு ஆகும் நக்க பெரியாக பெரியாக பிரியாக 
'Giving up of the body to relaxation (sūtakih) owing to sickness, the indolent state arising through disobedience and love of leisure through indolence.'

It should be noted that  $\neg v \circ v \circ s \overline{u} t a k \overline{i} h$  'relaxation' is here used with  $s \overline{u} s t - a s t i \dot{s} n \overline{i} h$  'languor' and  $a \dot{s} g \overline{e} h \overline{u} n \overline{i} h$  'idleness'.

१९७१७ ७०७ ११०१३ ११७

apar āsrōk kē ēhrpatastān kartan rāy užēnak hac deh stanēt pa kartan sūtak bavēt i.e.

'About the priest who receives a stipend ( $u\check{z}\bar{e}nak$ —NP  $haz\bar{i}na$  'expense') from a district for carrying on priestly studies, but is negligent ( $s\bar{u}tak$ ) in his duty'.

S. 'beneficial'  $(s\bar{u}tag)$  and W. (S.B.E. 37.93) 'worried'  $(s\bar{u}tak)$ .

kē andar apārīk yažišn i Yazdān sūtak bavēt, i.e.

"Who is negligent  $(s\overline{u}tak)$  about other ceremonials of the Yazads.

S. and W. (S.B.E. 37.167) "worried" for  $s\bar{u}tak$ .

 $k\bar{e}$  pa yazisn i Yazdān asūtak bavēt, i.e., 'Who is diligent (asūtak) about the ceremonials of the Yazads."

S. asûdag 'useless (?) and W. (S.B.E. 37.236) 'unworn.'

vas ān bē sūtāk andar mān dāt, i.e.

'He (Auharmazd) placed it (i.e., the fire) in the houses of men diligently [ $b\bar{e}\ s\bar{u}tak = as\bar{u}tak$ ].

S.  $b\bar{e}$   $s\bar{u}tak$  'with advantageous use', and W. (S.B.E. 37.190) 'without being handled.'

  $\overline{a}n \ sr\overline{a}yi\acute{s}n \ [ka pa yazi\acute{s}n i \acute{S}m\overline{a}k s\overline{u}tak n\overline{e} bav\overline{e}t a\acute{s} xvari\acute{s}n u vastarak vind\overline{e}n\overline{e}t]; i.e.$ 

"If, thus, one obtains food and clothing through diligently  $(as\overline{u}tak)$  chanting Your praise [i.e., if one is not remiss  $(s\overline{u}tak\ n\overline{e})$  in Your service, one obtains food and clothing."

Haug ('Essays' p. 341):— $as\overline{u}tak$  'useless' and  $s\overline{u}tak$  'useful'(?)

Gasān apar vitartakān gūftan pa sūtak nē dārišn, i.e. One should not be slack  $(s\bar{u}tak)$  in reciting the Gathas over those passed away.'

W. (S.B.E. 5.318) and Tavadia (ŠnŠ. p. 128): 'beneficial.

ka xvantār asūtakīha srāyēt, i.e.,

"When the reciter recites (the text) without negligence  $(as\bar{u}takih\bar{a})$ .

S. disúdagiha 'freely', and W. (S.B.E. 37.305) asúdakiha unanimously.' It cannot be ascertained how West derives the word here, but in PY. 19.5 (S.B.E. 37.474) he translates the same word 'without anxiety', evidently connecting it with NP. عودن sūdan 'to wear.' (See No. 1).

better] ביייייי [בריין better] ביי משל –DKS. 18.61.1 (15)

ka xvantār [tēxt vitār] sūtakīhā [text asūtakīhā] srāyēt, i.e.,

'If the reciter  $(xvant\bar{a}r)$  recites (the text) with negligence  $(s\bar{u}tak\bar{\imath}ha)$ . (See No. 1.)

xייטיי אָרטייי אָרטייי אָרטייי אָרטייי --:DKS. 19.89.11 (16)  $Yazisn\ Amharspandan\ asutakihha\ kunend,\ i.e.,$ 

They perform the ceremonial of the Amshapands without negligence  $(as\bar{u}tak\bar{v}ha)$ .

S. '(hope of) benefit' and W. (S.B.E. 37.393) 'unworriedly'.

hamist magūk-martān... $n\bar{o}k$ - $n\bar{o}k$  asūtakīhā Apastāk Zend uskārtan, i.e.,

"All Mobads...should, again and again deliberate well over the Avesta and Zend without relaxation ( $as\bar{u}tak\bar{i}h\bar{a}$ ).

apar pākīh i yastār tan vastarak asūtakīh i-s menišn hać vīnās, i.e.,

'About the purity of the body and clothes of the celebrator, having diligently  $(as\bar{u}tak\bar{\imath}h)$  (kept) his mind (free) from sin'.

S. āsūdagih 'repose' and W. (S.B.E. 37.96) 'assurance'.

cf., further, the following:

- (a) DK. 6.286.3: -- בייטיאיטי sūtakihā used with שייטישיש asgihaniha
- (b) DK. 7. 337.5:— אינישיטייי sūtakih used with ייטיישיייי ašgihanih 'idleness.'
- (c) DK. 8.421.3:--9000 ( $s\bar{u}tak$ ) used with  $as-gih\bar{a}n$  'idle.'
- (d) DK. 8.426.4,8:----บ-บ-ย ๑๒๙ and -บ-บ-ย ๑๒๙ asūtak pāsīh and sūtak pāsīh.
- (e) DK. 9.484.9: פעטי אווי אויפטעי מאפטעי  $asar{u}takar{u}har{a}$   $par{a}tan$  i  $par{a}s$ .
- (f) DK. 9.470.12:— rengy ser sūtak bōžišnīh.

There is one passage in the Dinkard (DKS. 9.451.17) where the word  $s\bar{\omega} tak$  is found to have been used in its original sense of 'worn out' (NP.  $s\bar{\omega} dan$ ), which is used in connection with the destruction of the original Nasks at the hands of Sikandar and the Arabs:—

אפים ו איבים  $visar{a}ndak$  u zruftak u  $sar{u}tak$  i.e.

'Scattered, dilapidated and worn out.'

In DKS. 8.386.1 and so sūtak is wrongly used in the text for sūt 'advantage'; and in DKS. 5.246.21 actard sūtakōmand should be better actric sūtōmand 'advantageous.' In Dd. Purs. 35 (=ch. 36). p. 73.15, the text has actric act hamē sūtakih which should better be changed to across act hamē sūtih 'all advantageousness.'

## 9 PAHLAVI שרפטיי ĀSIŠN

For ascertaining the correct reading and meaning of this word, we shall here give all the passages of the two Pahlavi texts wherein it occurs, viz., Pahlavi Yasna and Nirangastan. In Y. 1.10 we have the following Avesta passage:—

 $Vispaar{e}ibyo$ .  $aar{e}ibyar{o}$  ratuby $ar{o}$ .  $yar{o}i$ . hanti.  $a\dot{s}ahar{e}$ . ratav $ar{o}$ .  $\theta$ rayas $\dot{c}a$ .  $\theta$ ris $\ddot{a}\dot{s}\dot{c}a$ .  $nazdt\dot{s}ta$ .  $pairi\dot{s}$ - $h\bar{a}vanayar{o}$ .

The same passage is repeated in Y. 2.10; 3.12; 4.15; 6.9 and 7.12, with the following Pahlavi translation:—

harvisp  $\bar{o}\bar{e}\dot{s}\bar{a}n$  rat  $k\bar{e}$  hend ahr $\bar{a}y\bar{\imath}h$  rat $\bar{\imath}h$  33 nazdist-i p $\bar{e}r\bar{a}m\bar{u}n$   $h\bar{a}van$  i.e.,

those chieftains (rat) who are the chiefs (ratih) of holiness, (viz.,) the thirty-three nearest to, and round about, the Hāvan (Gāh)': See Mills: 'A Study of Yasna I,' p. 46. In this passage (Y 1.10) and in the corresponding passages of Y. 2.10;3.12 and 6.9, the Av. nazdišta is simply transcribed in Pahlavi and written nazdist 'nearest,' but in K5 (the oldest copy of the Av.-Pah. Yasna) written by Meher-āwān Kaikhusro, the word سعداة asišn? is found twice instead of عوبي nazdist, viz., at Y. 4.15 and 7.12 (see Spiegel's  $\mathbf{PY}$ . p. 52.2 and p. 63.16). Again  $\mathbf{J_2}$  (another oldest copy of Av.-Pah. Yasna) written by the same indefatigable scribe gives the word  $\overline{asisn}$  only once at Y. 7.12 for the usual المحودة nazdist. It may be here remarked that Y. 3.12 gives the word ترست aēšn with a defective orthography, for اجريت āsišn and hence Spiegel has not thought it worthwhile to incorporate this word in his Pah. Yasna, but has used the word امحوي nazdist as given in Y. 1.10 and other similar passages. After having quoted the two places where this word asisn is found in Py., let us give now all the passages of the Nirangastan where this word occurs. From the connection in which this word is used in the Nirangastan, it will be seen that, read it how we may, we are able at least to ascertain its general meaning:--

Here the text wrongly gives we asign for the correct some asign but See Nir. 48.4 where this passage is repeated with the correct some āsišn:—'With (the recital of Ima. humatāča hūxtāča (beginning of Y. 4), one should cast a glance on everything (placed) on the āsišn.'

hat āsišnē hast bē nikīrišn, i.e.,

Behold, one should certanly cast a glance on the āsišn.

vaš pa āsišnē har čēš-ē bē nikīrišn ka āsišnē hast bē nē nikīrišn.....i.e.

'He (the officiating priest, that is, the Zoti.) should inspect everything (lying) on the  $\bar{a}sisn$ ; if, indeed, one does not cast a glance on the  $\bar{a}sisn$ ......'

vas pa asisn har čēs-ē khvap nikīrisn, i.e.,

'He should inspect well everything on the asisn.'

hamē ka āsišn ēvakić i apāć **a**st ka apāć šayēt āvōrtan apāc āvōrišn. i.e.

'Whenever even a single thing is wanting ( $ap\bar{a}\dot{c}$ . ast) on the  $\bar{a}si\dot{s}n$ , it should be restored, as it is to be restored.'

There is one more passage—Nir. 111.26—where the word  $\bar{a}sisn$  is used, but it can be for the present left out, although Bulsara translates it as if it were used in the same connection as shown above.

Bulsara, in his Translation of the Nirangastan, translates  $\bar{a}sisn$  everywhere rightly as 'sacred apparatus,' but his reading of the word as  $khajidag\bar{a}n$  (?) 'the collected objects'  $(NP. \dot{z}) + khajidan$  'to assemble) seems doubtful.

Exactly perallel passages are to be met with in the 'Yasnas with Nirang' i.e., ritual directions, (e.g., see 'Yasna with Nirang' by Rustom Gushtasp (AY. 1090) of the Mulla Firuz Library,' but herein, instead of Pah.  $\bar{a}sisn$  of PY. and Nir., we have Pah.  $\bar{s}ajisn$ , 'apparatus, equipment,' etc. (cf. NP.  $\bar{s}az$  'apparatus'), a word giving the same general signification, as seen above. Here are the passages:—

In the proper Introduction to the main service of the Yasna, at the recital of the three Asom and four Ahunavars, we have this ritual direction:—

pa šyaoθananām šāžišn u zōhr hamāk xvap bē nikīrišn, i.e. "At (the recital of) Šyaoθananām both apparatus (šāžišn) (i.e., ritual table or  $\bar{a}l\bar{a}tg\bar{a}h$ ) and the Zohr should be well inspected".

pa Srōs-drōn hamāk gīvak sāžišn har čēš-I xvap bē nikīrīšn..... ka-š nē pa nikīrišn apar rasēt ašdyet i.e.,

"In (the consecration of) Srōs-drōn (Ys. 3-8) ceremony, everything on the apparatus  $(s\bar{a}\check{z}\check{\imath}\check{s}n)$  should be well inspected at all places (indicated)...If all things do not come within one's survey, it is not proper". (For this ritual direction, See Darmesteter: Z.A.I, p. 49.)

'One should cast a glance well on the whole apparatus (Sāzišn).' (See, also, Z.A. I. 63). See also 'Yazašn bā Nirang' by Tahmuras Anklesaria, p. 19), where, at the commecement of Y. 3 it is said that जीती परग३ तपासी जीय i.e. the 'Zoti' (the officiating priest) should inspect the paragru,' i.e., here 'the ritual table' (ālāt-gāh) on which all things necessary for consecration are placed. Here, then we have a technical word paragru in Gujarati for the Pah. (पर्याप्त कांड्रेंग or (पर्याप्त इत्रांड्रेंग Paragru lit., is the introductory ritualistic operations for the main Service of the Yasna proper, and secondarily the term is applied to the whole ritual table on which lie the things

to be consecrated (See Z.A.I. Introd. p. LXX and Modi, op. cit, p. 266.67).

The meaning ascertained from the above-cited passages of the Nirangastan, and from the various ritual directions of the Yasna, bearing on the same subject and giving the same context can be, therefore, applied to the word race  $\bar{a}sisn$  found at PY. 4.15 and, as said above as Av. nazdista = Pah.  $race = \bar{a}sisn$ , it might first be taken in the literal sense of (objects lying) nearest to, or contiguous with, the  $H\bar{a}van$ . (It is quite possible that Pah. For  $h\bar{a}van$  is applied to the Av. hāvana 'the metallic mortar' by the Pab. writer and not to Av. hāvani 'the morning-time). Neryosang translates the word as nikaṭāh 'contiguous to.' From this original meaning. PY. אבייניטיאני āsišn has the secondary meaning of 'the things on the table lying nearest to the Hāvan'—and hence the 'whole ritual table or the ' $\bar{a}l\bar{a}t$ - $g\bar{a}h$ ' or the 'Khvān of  $\bar{a}l\bar{a}t$ '. We are not here concerned with the interpretation of what 'the thirty tree' alludes to here. Whether this alludes to thirty-three  $\bar{a}l\bar{a}ts$  or thirty-three divinities is a point discussed by various scholars, for which see my 'Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framurz and others' pp. 328-29, where this question is discussed in Notes. It should be noted that this Rivayat refers to 'thirty-three,' as being various apparatus of the Yasna-gāh (p. 328). As against this traditional view, cf. the passage of DK. 15-15.6, there quoted, which says that the 'thirty-three' refer to the spiritual and terrestrial Yazads, (see Mills 'a Study of Yasna I,p. 46 and Haug's 'Essays' p. 275; also Line 'Yasna' by Aga Poor-i Daud, p. 119).

About the reading and etymology of the word;—the word asisn is a substitute of asisn asisn is a substitute of asisn asisn asisn is a substitute of the original asisn asisn where asisn asin 
This  $\underline{v}$ -s is contracted from zd which, in its full form is had. For example, cf. Av.  $\overline{asnoiti} = \overline{a} + s + nav + ti$  where  $\overline{a}$  is the prefix, nav is the class sign, and ti is pres. 3 sg. termination—then there remains s only for the root, which is contracted from zd (= Av. rt. had 'to sit)'—(See AIW. 1755 and Reichelt: 'Avesta Reader, p.275).

Again, take the word row pasišn (Av. upa-sayana) 'resting-place (for fire); the Atash-dān.' In this word p represents the Av. pref. upa and šn the abstract suffix; then there remains the radical u-s only, which represents the original Av. rt.  $S\bar{\imath}$  'to lie down.'

## $Dar{E}\deltaar{E}M$ المواجعة $Dar{E}ar{E}M$

In Jackson Memorial Volume, under the heading 'Aids to Pahlavi Lexicography' (p. 63), I have shown that this word is also found in Book Pahlavi in addition to MPT (Middle-Persian Turfan) and MPI (Middle-Persian of the Inscriptions), e.g., in Bahman Yasht and the Dadastan:

The Byt. passage runs thus:—

وسوب د ورم بها د ومهد المرسوب

gās-i dēn u dēsēm i pātaxš-āih

'The throne of Religion and the diadem of Sovereignty'. (Byt. Ch. II § 63 p. 12 by K.A.N. aud Ch. V § 9 pp. 42-46 by BT.A.)

The Dadastan passage (Ch. 48 § 17) runs thus:—

"The metallic ( $\hat{S}atrav\bar{e}r\bar{\imath}k$ )  $m\bar{a}hr\bar{u}p$  is arranged (on the ritual table) as representing  $(pa\ g\bar{a}s-i)$  the crown or diadem  $(d\bar{e}\delta\bar{e}m)$  of the kings'.

All the three translators including West (in S.B.E. 18 p. 165) differ in the interpretation of the word. cf. Firdausi ديهيم شاهانشهي.

I record here another instance of the word found in my Zand-i Khurtak Avistāk,' p. 255, l. 3, viz.: -υ»κτευν ι -υ»κτευν taxtōmandıh u dēδēmōmandih 'the acquirement of the thrones and the posession of crowns or diadems (by kings)',

# 11 PAHLAVI Jue VĒTVARĪH

This word is variously read and translated by scholars, but from the following passages in Book-Pahlavi, it will be seen that it bears only the meaning of 'contentment, patience, meekness, forbearance (under injuries), consolation, resignation to the will of God, etc.' Bailey, in B.S.O.S. Vol VII (1934), p. 296 reads the word  $v\bar{\imath}tvar$  and translatee 'grieved'. He derives the word thus:—

21 participle of  $\sqrt{v\bar{a}}$  (y) 'to excite': hence  $v\bar{\imath}ta$  'excited' i.e. 'distres-

sed',—the whole vita-bara meaning 'bearing grief': but this interpretation is not convincing as none of the thirteen passages given below bears out this meaning. It should be remembered that vētvar is generally used side by side with sur xvarsand 'satisfied, contented, resigned.':—

Pahlavi Texts by Jamaspasana:---

'Be industrious, acquire virtue, do not desist from duty and be contented ( $v\bar{e}tvar$ ) with your lot'.

'Drive out want by means of contentment ( $v\bar{e}tvar\bar{\imath}h$ )—and greed by means of resignation to the will of God.'

Acquire patience and the strengthing of your mind with forbearance (vitvarēnit mīnišn).

Here betvarih of the text should be changed to (vētvarih) which means were xvarsandih as given in the heading of the text or severe. Sakipāih (l. 11) 'patience'.

Dinkard (DKM.):—

galak öpār u vētvar.

For this passage, see No. 13 below.

This passage is very nearly the same as above, but  $gar\bar{a}n$  should be changed to garak, as in No. 5.

 $\bar{o}p\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}h$  u  $v\bar{e}tvar\bar{\imath}h$  'being forbearing ( $\bar{o}p\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}h$ ) and patient.

He consoles himself  $(v\bar{e}tvar)$  with the hope of a (good and virtuous) end and the hope of virtuous end is (fixed) on the

demonstrator of the Renovation of the world (fraskart)'.

ופוושט באטוש ו אופו שב -p. 541.11 (9)

'Be, for ever, resigned to the will of God (vētvar) and contented.

Dādastan-iDīnîk:-

'He (Auharmazd) consoled  $(v\bar{e}tvarih\ d\bar{a}t)$  the creatures contending (against the druj) (with the promise of a good reward in the next world). Here  $v\bar{e}tvar$  is the same as sure xvarsand, just following.

בישאיר וישולטי אי וישולטי אינאישל ויש אינאישל ויש Ch. 46 § 3 (11)

(They should be) more contented in distress and in hardship, they should resign themselves to the will of God  $(v\bar{e}tvar\bar{\imath}h)$ .

ال وال وخورم عموم المجارة المحال عمد معادات

They are always more patient ( $v\bar{e}tvartar$ ) with the least remuneration's said of priests as in the preceding No. 11.

سور کسون کو موری کارون کو بودر میل کارون کو بودر اور کارون کو بودر کارون کارون کو بودر کارون کارون کو بودر کارون کو بودر کارون کارون کو بودر کارون کارون کو بودر کارون کارون کارون کو بودر کارون کارون کارون کو بودر کارون کا

'Her (Spendarmat's) goodness is this that she is patient  $(v\bar{e}tvar)$  and putting up with insults (or injuries) (lit., 'swallowing complaints'); her suffering of insults  $(garak\ \bar{o}p\bar{a}r)$  is this that she endures  $(g\bar{o}k\bar{a}r\bar{e}t,\ lit.$  'digests') all injury which reaches the earth of Spendarmat'.

#### Abbreviations

AIW. Altiranisches Worterbuch; Bartholomae

Av. Avesta

AVn. Artāi Virāf Nāmak

Barth. Bartholomae

B.S.O.S. Bulletin of the Society of Oriental Studies

Byt. Bahaman Yasht

Ch. Chapter

Dd. Datastan-i Dinik (Ed. Anklesaria) and S.B.E. Vol. 18

Dk. Dinkard

Dkm. Dinkard (Ed. Madon)

Dks.Dinkard (Ed. Sanjana)

Ep.M. Epistles of Manushchihar (Ed. by me) and S.B.E. Vol. 8

Fro. Frahang-i Oîm (Ed. Reichelt)

Fr.P. Frahang-i Pahlavik (Ed. Junker)

Gl. Glossary

GrBd. Greater Bundahish (Ed. Anklesaria)

HdN. Hadoxt Nask

H.F. Rivayat of Hormazyar Framarz (translated by me)

Hoś. Dastur Hosangji

mid. middle

mit. Iran.mund Zur kenntnis der Mitteliranischen Mundarten (Bartholomae

MhD. Madigan-i Hazar Dadastan and its translation by Bulsara

M.U. Maneckji Unvala's Edition of Darab Hamazyar's Rivayat

N.P. Neo-Persian

NP.Ety. Horn's Neo-Persian Etymology

Nir. Nirangastan and its translation by Bulsara

Pah. Pahlavi

Part. Participle

Pl. plural

P.M.V. Dastur Peshotan Memorial Volume

Pors. or Purs. Pursisn

P.PG. Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary-by Hoshangji and Haug

PY. Pahlavi Yasna

Riv. Rivayat

S. Sanjana

S.B.E. Sacred Books of the East

S.G.V. Shikand Gumanik (Ed. Hoshang & West)

Šnš. Šayast-nė-Šayašt- (Ed.by Tavdia) and S B.E. Vol. V.

Sp. Spiegel

V. Version

Vd. Vendidad

Visp. Visparad

Vol. Volume

Vyt. Vishatasp Yasht

W. Dr. West

W.Z.K.M. Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morganlandes.

Y. Yasna

Z.A. Zend Avesta by Darmesteter

Zd.Kh.Av. Zand-i-Khurtak Avistak (edited by me)

# THE FALL OF MAN IN THE AVESTA

By The Rev. H. Heras, S. J.

"The Fall of man has also been known to other ancient nations".

(Christopher Hollis, Noble Castle, p. 27)

I

## THE FALL IN INDIAN TRADITION

Some of the great Vedāntins of India, like Rāmāṇujī and Vallabha, definitely maintain that the soul of man is fallen, though their perspective seems to be mistaken; for they speak of a fall as having taken place in eternity, whereas in eternity there cannot be a fall, for the simple reason that there is no change in eternity, as there is no succession. When they speak of eternity, they mean in reality in the beginning of time, with reference to the history of man upon earth, viz. in the beginning of man's karma. "The soul", says Prof. Otto, referring to the Vaisṇavas of India, "knows that the reason of her lost condition lies in her own original defect, in a fall, which precedes all single acts of wrongdoing and which is the secret of our whole existence in separation from God". It is the transition from the Satya-yuga to the Treta-yuga, which has finally degenerated into the Kāli-yuga, which mankind in general is still passing through.

In point of fact, there is a passage in the Rgveda which evidently refers to this moral Fall of the first man. The passage refers to Yama, who in the Rgveda is the first man. "He chose death for the gods; he chose not a life immortal for his descendants". The passage is one of the most difficult in the whole Samhitā, but read in conjunction with other Vedic texts, we believe that the meaning is not doubtful. According to it, Yama did not choose immortal life for his descendants. This choice was not, indeed, a boon for them. It was not a choice made directly by Yama, for he evidently would have chosen immortality. It is a punishment inflicted upon him on account of a sin. Hence in

<sup>1</sup> Otto, India's Religion of Grace, p. 49.

<sup>2.</sup> Rg., X, 13, 4.

this verse, as Barth rightly points out, there is a fall implied. Yama "might have lived as an immortal, but he chose to die, or rather he incurred the penalty of death, for under this choice a fall is disguised".

This is still more clearly seen if we compare the two  $p\bar{a}\bar{c}as$  of this  $p\bar{a}dya$ :

- 1. He chose death for the devas.
- 2. He did not choose a life immortal for his descendants.

In both cases the subject is the same Yama; the action of the verb seems to be different, but in reality is also the same for not to choose a life immortal is the same as to choose death. The rsi therefore expressed the same idea in two different ways. what is the indirect object? In the second case it is praja, "his descendants"; in the first deva, 'the shining beings". In view of the real parallellism, though disguised under a verbal difference, existing between these two  $p\bar{a}das$ , I humbly suggest here that the developath of the first  $p\bar{a}da$  are the same prajayaiof the second, though before the disappearance of ananda which made them similar to God. This loss of  $\bar{a}$  nanda was caused by the Fall<sup>2</sup>. Before this gift was lost Yama and all his descendants were and would have been shining with the radiance of God. Just as a Brāhman and a saint may be called deva as, for instance, he is styled in the Rgveda itself; so also man before the Fall, in the original high state in which he was created. The verse therefore presents to us the divine state in which man was, the loss of immortality (as a punishment for his sin), and the natural state in which he remained after the sin was committed.

Understood this way, this verse of the Rgveda finds a parallel in the Harivanisa: "The devas after being created by Brahma do not please him. Consequently he deprives them of the power of discernment between good and evil". This deprivation turns them into a-devas, for "verily the devas are the truth and

<sup>1.</sup> Barth, The Religion of India, p. 22.

<sup>2.</sup> Cf. Johanns, To Christ Through the Vedānta, II, p. 14.

<sup>9.</sup> Harivanisa, XVII, (Bose's, p. 52).

man is the untruth". Indeed, "what man is able to speak all satya (truth, reality)? The devas are endowed with satya, but men are full of anrta (falsehood)", for they are separated from God, who is satyasya Satyam. We have therefore in this  $s\bar{u}kta$  of the Rgveda an evident reference to the first sin of man, which deprived him of something Brahmaiva and consequently of the gift of immortality.

### II

#### THE FALL IN THE AVESTA

We find a similar passage in the Avesta which will be the subject of this paper. It is narrated in connection with Yima (=Yama) (the future Jamshed of the Pahlavi period). The passage in question is given thus by Moulton, who retains the translation of Bartholamae.

"To these sinners belonged, 'tis said, Yima also, son of Vīvah-vant, who desiring to satisfy mortals, gave our people portions of beef to eat".

The translation does not substantially differ from this by Mills:

'Of these wretched beings, Yima Vivanghusha was famed to be, he who desiring to content our men was eating kine's flesh in its pieces".

But recently Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporewala has given a translation which is essentially different:—

"Among such sinners one is known to fame, Yima, Vivanhān's son, renowned of yore, He wished to make men happy here below And he increased the good things of the Earth".

<sup>1.</sup> Śałapatha Brāhmana, I. 1, 1, 4.

<sup>2.</sup> Ailareya Brāhmana, I. 1, 6,

<sup>3.</sup> Ys. XXXII, 8. Cf. Moulton, Early Zoroastrianism, p. 149.

<sup>4.</sup> S. B. E., XXXI, p. 61. Cf. Mills, A Study of the Zarathustrian (Zoroastrian) Ghāthas, p. 97 (Leipzig, 1894).

<sup>5.</sup> Taraporewala, Gotha Ahunavaiti, p. 71 (Bombay, 1944).

The main difference between these two translations is this:

Translation by Bartholomae, Moulton and Mills

The sin consists in the fact that Yima ate cow's flesh, or gave it to his descendants to eat.

Translation by Dr. Taraporewala

The sin consists in an increase of the material things of the earth (forgetting the things spiritual).

There is no doubt that both translations seem to be genuine and acceptable. The radical reason of the difference lies in the original, since the word ' $g\bar{a}u\dot{s}$ ", may mean "kine" and also "earth".

Dr. Taraporewala may perhaps claim that his translation embodies the spirit of the revelation of Zarathustra more authentically than the texts of the other translators, who "though profound scholars and excellent philologists, possess the double bias of being Europeans and Christians". Yet the ancient tradition of Iran. at least of the Sassānian period, is fully in favour of the prior translation; for the Pahlavi text of the Avesta, done during the rule of the Sassānian monarchs, clearly speaks of meat-eating (though without the mention of any sort of cattle in particular), thus:

"Of those devs (demons) the revengeful sinner is known, Jam, son of Vivanghan, who has taught men thus: 'we partake of meat in pieces'"<sup>2</sup>.

I am honestly inclined to attach more authority to this Pahlavi tradition of the Sassānians existing in Iran itself, than to the tradition Dr. Taraporewala may invoke in favour of his translation.

## III

THE SIN OF MAN, CONNECTED WITH GLUTTONY

Moreover, in favour of this translation that mentions the eating of flesh there is the similarity of tradition from three differing neighbouring nations.

<sup>1.</sup> *Ibid.*, p. VII.

<sup>2.</sup> Pahlavi text published by Dr. Spiegel I owe this translation to my good friend Mr. Kanga, to whom I am also indebted for much information concerning the subject of this paper.

- 1. From Sumer and Babylon. In the poem of the Fall of man composed in Nippur, Tagtug, who is the first man created by Ninharsag, eats from the cassia plant and is at once cursed with human frailty! In the Legend of Adapa, originating in Eridu, Adapa is offered by God Anu the food of immortality, but he, supposing that the food was the food of death, refuses to eat and thus loses immortal life<sup>2</sup>; in which tradition the idea of eating is also included in a negative way.
- 2. The Hebrew tradition. According to Genesis the first book of the Bible, the sin was committed when Adam ate of the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which had been forbidden by God<sup>3</sup>.
- 3. From India. Though no text discovered up to now mentions "food" or "eating" in connection with this sin, yet the similarity of the Biblical setting with the different scenes on the Indus Valley seals relating to the sin of Paradise, which have been collected and explained by the present writer, makes one suspect that eating of the fruit of the tree was possibly the sin committed by the first man, according to Indian tradition. On all the seals a tree appears next to which the tempter and the spirit of God are seen.

A much later story, found in the Kathā Sarit Sāgara, is perhaps a recollection of this early tradition. "A certain householder had a stupid servant. As the householder was fond of āmalakas, he said to his servant: 'Go, and bring me some perfectly sweet āmalakas from the garden'. The foolish fellow bit every one, to taste if it was sweet, and then brought them and said: 'Look, master, I tasted these and found them sweet, before bringing them'. And his master, seeing that they were half eaten, sent them away in disgust and his stupid servant too.

<sup>1.</sup> Langdon, Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood and the Fall of Man, p. 51.

<sup>2.</sup> Ibid., pp. 45-46.

<sup>3.</sup> Gen., III, 1-7.

<sup>4.</sup> Heras, "La Tradición del pecado del Paraino en las naciones protoindicomediterráneas", Estudios Biblicos (Madrid). I. pp. 53-66.

<sup>5.</sup> Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara, LXI. 117 (Tawney's, V, p. 94).

There is yet another tradition—oral in this case—coming from the Khasis (an Indo-Chinese tribe of the hills of Assam). While the first man was once waiting for a visit from God, "he met a stranger, who was eating some food out of a net in his hand. The stranger, who was a demon in disguise, tempted man with the strange food. Man protested at first, for he was permitted by a decree to eat only rice and no other food. But later on, he yielded to the persuasions of the demon and ate of the strange food. Just then God appeared to man and told him that by yielding to the temptation of the demon and by eating of the prohibited food he and the entire human race had become subject to the power of the demon".

### IV

### PRIDE, THE SIN OF MAN

Comparing all these accounts of the first sin of man with the tradition of the Avesta, we find nevertheless one striking difference. In all the other ancient traditions, apart from the folk-loric tradition of the Khasis², the sin is committed by eating the forbidden fruit of a tree, but in the Avesta eating flesh of kine has become a sin. This difference makes us suspect that the original tradition has somewhat changed in the Iranian sacred book; that very likely in the original tradition we had also the fruit of a tree being eaten against the injunction; but at a period when eating beef or cow's flesh was discountenanced in Iran, this change must have taken place. Such a period must have coincided with the development of the cult of Mithra, who must have been considered as the only one who had the right to kill "the bull" whose blood would regenerate the world.

<sup>1.</sup> Narayan, "Khazi Folk-lore", The New Review (Calcutta), XVI, p. 454. In the Egyptian tradition of the first sin, found in an inscription in the tomb of Seti I, there is no reference to eating any food. The sin mentioned there is a sin of speech. Men talked against Rā, the Supreme Being. Cf. Naville, "La Destruction des Hommez par les Dieux", Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, (London). IV, (1875), p. 5.

<sup>2.</sup> The tree also appears in Khasi tradition in another version of the original sine both versions were very likely one account only originally.

Apart from these differences we may study the sin in itself. Moulton compares the action of Yima to the action of Eve in Genesis. "In the Avesta", says he, "it is a king who gives forbidden food to his subjects; in Genesis a woman who gives it to her husband". We sincerely regret to be compelled to disagree from the great scholar's view as regards the subject of this comparison. Be Yima himself the one who ate the forbidden food, as some translate, or be he giving such food to his subjects, he and no other committed that first sin, which has been called original, for it was committed by the head of the human race. But the sin committed by Eve in inviting Adam to eat of the fruit, in Genesis, was not the original sin, for Eve was not the origin and head of our race. Had Adam rejected his wife's temptation, there would have been no original sin in the world.

What sort of sin was the sin of Yima=Yama=Adam? At the first blush gluttony appears to have played a great part in it. In all these traditions we find the sin of the first man connected with eating some food or other. "Gluttony", says St. Thomas Aquinas, "also had a place in the sin of our first parents. For it is written<sup>2</sup>: 'The woman saw that the tree was good to eat, and fair to the eyes, and delightful to behold, and she took of the fruit thereof; and did eat'".

It was also a sin of disobedience against God who had enjoined a prohibition, as St. Paul clearly admits. "By the disobedience of one man (Adam) many (polloi="all", according to the Greek original) were made sinners".

But the formal cause of the sin was pride, as declared by the *Ecclesiasticus*: "Pride is the beginning of all sin". "Many movements", explains St. Thomas, "may concur towards one sin, and the character of sin attaches to that one in which inordinateness is first found". Thus though gluttony concurred to the

<sup>1.</sup> Moulton, op. cit., p. 307.

<sup>2.</sup> Gen., III, 6.

<sup>3.</sup> St. Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica, II-II, 9, 163, a. 1, ad 2.

<sup>4.</sup> Rom., V, 19.

<sup>5.</sup> Eccli., X, 15.

<sup>6.</sup> St. Thomas, op. et loc. cit., in corp

sin, it was not the main mover of man's will. "The very goodness and beauty of the fruit", says the same author, "was not their first motive for sinning, but the persuasive words of the serpent who said: 'Your eyes shall be opened and you shall be as gods'1. And it was by coveting this that the woman fell into pride. Hence the sin of gluttony resulted from the sin of pride"2. The same may be said of the disobedience of the first man. "The first thing he coveted inordinately was his own excellence; and consequently his disobedience was the result of pride"3. "Man", comments St. Augustine, "puffed up with pride, obeyed the serpent's prompting and scorned God's commands". In his great work De Civitate Dei the same great Doctor explains what essentially this sin of pride codsisted in. It was "a movement whereby a creature (that is an essentially dependent being whose principle of existence lies not in itself but in another) tries to set up on its own, to exist for itself"5. This clearly explains the malice of that sin, that an essentially dependent being should try to be independent (a philosophical impossibility), that a mere becoming should wish to be a Being (a metaphysical absurdity), and, to put it in Indian philosophical terms, that pure  $sa\dot{m}s\bar{a}ra$  should attempt to be  $Svayambh\bar{u}$ (a theological crime). Rightly therefore the Bundahesh refers to the sin of Yima as the time "when reason (nismo) departed from him"6. A modern author has felicitously put it: "They (our first parents) wanted to be nouns, but they were, and eternally must be, mere adjectives".

In the Iranian tradition that has been embodied in the  $Sh\bar{a}h$   $N\bar{a}ma$ , this pride of the first man involved in his sin is clearly recorded. Firdausi describes the sin of Jamshed—the original Yima or Yama—as a sin of pride directly against God, whom he finally ignored after having known Him. He is consequently said

<sup>1.</sup> Gen., II, 5.

<sup>2.</sup> St. Thomas, op. et. loc. cit., ad 2.

<sup>3.</sup> Ibid., ad 1.

<sup>4.</sup> St. Augustine, Dialogus ad Orosium, LXV, 4.

<sup>5.</sup> St. Augustine, De Civitate Dei, XIV, 13.

<sup>6.</sup> Bundahesh, XXIII, 1.

<sup>7.</sup> Lewis, The Problem of Pain, p. 68.

to have addressed his chiefs thus:-

"They who adore me not are Ārihmans. So now that ye perceive what I have done All hail me as the Maker of the world".

This is also the tradition of the Indian philosophers. So it is explained by Fr. Johanns: "The soul must have lost sight of what it was with regard to God. This ignorance or oblivion must have been voluntary and it must have been the heart that prompted the will. For since it is only the conversion of the heart that can bring the soul back to God, its falling away from God must have been due to the heart's aversion from Him. Rāmāṇuja insists that God is offended by the eternal prevarications of the soul. The soul must therefore have displeased Him by its unkindness. As soon as the soul turned away from God, the divine Sun set at its horizon. The soul could no longer apprehend God nor itself and its nature as a mode of God. Eritis sicut dii! The soul had broken its relation with God. It thus appeared to itself as its own independent principle, its own end and providence"<sup>2</sup>.

This voluntary separation of the human soul from God is often commemorated in Vedic literature: "Prajāpati created the creatures. These, being created, went away from Him". And again: "Prajāpati having created living beings, felt himself as it were exhausted. The creatures turned away from Him; the creatures did not abide with Him". An individual striking reflection of this general inconsideration of the creatures for God is the case of Bhṛgu, the son of Varuṇa, who may be a late impersonation of the first man. He is said to have despised his father, considering himself wiser than the latter. The knowledge like God's which man wanted to possess is here shown as the cause

<sup>1.</sup> Warner, The Shāhnāma of Firdausi, I, v. 27, p. 134 (London, 1905).

<sup>2.</sup> Johanns, op. cit., II, p. 14.

<sup>3.</sup> Pañcavimṣa Brāhmaṇa, XVII, 10, 2; XXI 2, 1 (These creatures who went away from Him could only be those endowed with free will).

<sup>4.</sup> Satapatha Brāhmana, III, 9, 1, 1.

<sup>5.</sup> Ibid., XI, 6, 1, 1.

of man's pride, who mistakingly thought that it was actually possessed by him!

### V

#### THE TEMPTER

Another difference between the reference to the first sin as found in the  $g\bar{a}tha$  and some of the other traditions is the absence of any tempter in the former. In Genesis it is the serpent, which is said to be "more subtle than any of the beasts of the earth". The Apocalypse tells us who this serpent is. "That great dragon ...that old serpent, who is called the devil and Satan, who seduceth the whole world". The tempter has also disappeared from the Sumerian poems, though the appearance of a serpent beside the tree of life in a famous Babylonian seal of the British Museum, which has excited not a little controversy, shows that the serpent was also associated with the events that took place round the tree.

In the Proto-Indian tradition the tempter becomes a tiger, the great enemy of man in India, as is seen in many of the seals of the Indus Valley<sup>4</sup>, but the association of the serpent with the tree of life in another seal<sup>5</sup> discloses the early appearance of the tempter in the form of a serpent.

There is a śloka in a  $s\overline{u}kta$  of the tenth mandala of the Rgveda which seems to be on echo of these early traditions of the Indian nation. There the rsi devoutly prays to God:

"What wound soever the dark bird hath inflicted, the ant, or the serpent, or the tiger ( $\hat{s}v\bar{a}pada$ ), may Agni, who devoureth all things, heal it".

<sup>1.</sup> Gen., III, 1.

<sup>2.</sup> Apcc., XII, 9.

<sup>8.</sup> Perrot-Chipiez, Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité, II, p. 97, fig. 21. Cf. Enciso Viana, Problemas del Génesis, Revelación y Ciencia, p. 145 (Vitoria, 1936); Heran, op. cit., pp. 77-78.

<sup>4.</sup> Marshall, Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization, III, Seals Nos. 355 and 357 Mackay, Furtuer Excavations at Mohenjo Daro, II, pl. LXXXII, No. 1, a; pl. XC, No 23, b; pl. XCVI, No. 522; Vats, Excavations at Harappa, II, Seals Nos. 248 and 308. Cf. Heras, op. cit., p. 61.

<sup>5.</sup> Ibid., No. 387. Cf. Heras, op. cit., pp. 71-74.

<sup>6.</sup> Rg., X, 16, 6.

The wound spoken of in this padya does not seem to be an ordinary wound, for it requires the intervention of God to cure it. He mentions four animals I cannot explain why the ant (pipila) has been referred to; the appearance of the black bird will be accounted for presently; we have besides the serpent, which we have seen by the tree of life a moment ago; plus the tiger which is shown at the foot of the same tree in all the Mohenjo-Daro seals above referred to.

Yet later Indian asceticism connects the prevailing vice of man ahankar, selfishness (which is the root of all sins) with a serpent: "Do you who have been bitten by the great black serpent of the egoism, 'I am the doer', drink the nectar of the faith 'I am not the doer', and be happy"<sup>2</sup>.

In the Egyptian tradition a serpent also makes its appearance in connection with this early event in the history of man. Rā, the supreme God of the Egyptians, becomes at a later period the first king and consequently the first man of the Valley of the Nile and as such by a not infrequent antithesis in ancient mythologies, Rā is said to have been bitten by a serpent and to have been very dangerously ill in consequence.

Accordingly in one of the representations of the tree of life found on a sarcophagus of a priest of Ammon we see a colossal winged and horned serpent, which is undoubtedly a recollection of the serpent that bit Rā in the beginning of the history of man<sup>4</sup>.

Even in the later Pahlavi texts a serpent demon also appears somewhat associated with Yima. During the reign of this serpent demon, who is named Aji Dahāka, Yima, 'for fear of the demons' gave his sister Yimak to a demon as wife, and all young girls were married to demons'.

<sup>1.</sup> Griffit translates svāpada as jackal.

<sup>2.</sup> Ashtavakra Samhita, I, 8 (Nityaswarupānanda's, p. 7.)

<sup>3.</sup> Lesébure, "Un chapitre de la chronique solaire", Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, 1883, pp. 27-33.

<sup>4.</sup> Virey, La Religion de l'Ancienne Egypte, pp. 240-243; Heras, "The Tree of Life", The New Review, (Calcutta), XIX (1944), pp. 449-450.

<sup>5.</sup> Bundahesh, XXIII, 1-2. Cf Darmesteter, Ormazd et Ahriman, pp 105-107.

In the  $\bar{A}b\bar{a}n$  Yast mention is made of the two daughters of Yima, Savanghavāz and Erenavāz, whom Aji Dahāka had taken as wives¹; while Aji Dahāka himself is described as "the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who has a thousand senses, that most powerful, fiendish Druj, that demon, baleful to the world, the strongest Druj that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy the world of the good principle".

This same tradition is also found in the  $Sh\bar{a}h\ N\bar{a}ma^3$ . For Firdausi Aji Dahāka, who is styled Zahak, has already become an Arab prince, the personification of the Semite race, the mortal enemies of the Iranians. Yet there is still something supernatural about him in his connection with serpents. Two black snakes grew from the monarch's shoulders<sup>4</sup> These snakes gave him no rest<sup>5</sup>. They could not be killed. In pursuance of the advice of a demon, they were to be fed on men's brains. After narrating this legend, as he found it in his time, Firdausi significantly remarks:

"Had he conceived perchance a secret plan

To rid the world of all the race of man?"6

In the  $R\bar{a}m$  Yast the palace at Aji Dahāka is mentioned. It is styled "accursed", and described as "containing a golden throne, under golden beams and a golden canopy". The name of the palace is given as Kvirinta, which name means "stork". Hamza al Isfahānī, recording the ancient tradition of Iran, gives some interesting information about this place. He says that Aji Dahāka "used to live in Babylon, where he had built a house in the form of a stork; he called it Kuleng  $D\bar{\imath}s$ , the fortress of the stork". That this palace was in Babylon seems to be confirmed by the  $\bar{A}b\bar{a}n$  Yast

<sup>1.</sup> Yasts, V, 9, 34.

<sup>2.</sup> Ibid., (S.B.E., XXIII, p. 62); XIX, 7,37 (Ibid.,p. 294).

<sup>9.</sup> Warner, op.cit.. v. 35, p. 146. The two names of Yima's daughters in the peem are Shahrinaz and Arnavaz.

<sup>4.</sup> Ibid., v. 32. p. 139.

<sup>5.</sup> Ibid. v. 55. p. 164.

<sup>6.</sup> Ibid. v. 33. p. 139.

<sup>7.</sup> Yaşts, XV, 5, 19 (S.B.E., XXIII, pp. 253-254).

<sup>8.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9.</sup> Gottwaldt, Hamzae Ispahanensis Annalium, Libri X, II, p. 22. (Leipzig. 1848).

when it informs us that Aji Dahāka "offered a sacrifice in the land of Bawri", *i.e.* Babylon¹. The original seat of this myth seems to be looked for in Babylon.

Now from the Sumerian lands of Mesopotamia a fragment of an old Gilgamesh epic has come down to us which seems to have some connection with this stork-shaped palace. Planted by the banks of the Euphrates, in the garden of Uruk, the capital of Gilgamesh's kingdom, grew the luxuriant tree called Huluppu. The serpent which knew no charm had made for itself a nest at the foot of the tree, where it kept watch. The bird Zu watched from the top of the tree and the female demon Lilith in its middle.2 The guardian that stood at the foot of the tree was the serpent who knew no charm, not any kind of serpent but that one which knows not how to charm or enchant others. The passage is obscure in its very script, as the editor has noted. Perhaps this reptile is the serpent that knows how to charm or bewitch others, as the serpent of Genesis did. The guardian in the middle of the tree was the female demon Lilith. The name was one of the group of demons called in Babylon Lil, who were the demons of the night and of torture3. We must further note that this demon is femele in sex just as is the demon or spirit of the Proto-Indian seals4, and that she is placed in the middle of the tree, as is the spirit on those Finally the uppermost guardian of the tree was the bird Zu. The Sumerian poem named The Myth of Etana calls this bird "wicked" and speaks of its "head of evil" 6. The fault committed by Zu was to have stolen the tablets of destiny from the god Bel in heaven, and for this it is called the enemy of the gods. Hence, though this Huluppu tree of the garden of Gilgamesh is not called the tree of life, it does not appear improbable that we find in it a continuation of the Proto-Indian tradition, and that it most

<sup>1.</sup> Yasts, V, 8, 29.

<sup>2.</sup> Kramer, Gilgamesh and the Huluppu Tree, pp. 5-8.

<sup>3.</sup> Lagrange, Etudes sur les Religions Sémitiques, p. 95.

<sup>4.</sup> Marshall, op.cit., III. No. 357. Cf. Hera, op cit., p. 63-64.

<sup>5.</sup> Cf. note 4 of p. 159.

<sup>6.</sup> Dhorme, Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens, p. 169.

<sup>7.</sup> Lagrange, op cit., pp 338-339.

originally have been the tree of the temptation and of the sin of paradise.

Now upon the crown of this tree the wicked bird Zu is perched, a circustance which is worth noticing. It is well known that storks are birds that usually nest in high places. Most probably we have in this bird of the land of Babylon the prototype of the idea that grew later on into the stork-shaped palace of Aji Dahāka at Babylon since the bird Zu already appears associated with a demon and with a snake. This seems also to be that dark bird mentioned by the Rgvedic rsi as the probable cause of the bite inflicted on man, which only Agni could heal.

### VI

#### THE ORIGINAL HAPPINESS OF MAN

The text of the Yasna under study does not explicitely mention the state of happiness in which Yima dwelt before he committed the sin, but everybody implies it when speaking of the Fall of man, for there cannot be a fall unless there is a movement from a higher plane to a lower. The Fall of man supposes that the natural state upon which man is at present is much lower than that on which he was when first created. This higher happiness of man is described at length in the Zamyād Yast thus:-

"He ("the bright Yima") who took from the Devas both riches and welfare, both fatness and flocks, both weal and glory; in whose reign both aliments were never failing for feeding creatures, flocks and men were undying, waters and plants were undying, waters and plants were undrying; in whose reign there was neither cold wind nor hot wind, neither old age nor death, nor envy made by the Devas, in the times before his lie, before he began to have delight in words of falsehood and untruth".

In this long description all the goods in which Yima abounded are material, excepting the gift of glory. Glory seems to be purely spiritual; in point of fact after Yima's sin, glory is said to flee from him at once, both in Avesta and Pahlavi literature and in the  $Sh\bar{a}h\ N\bar{a}ma$ , as we shall see presently. In consequence of this loss, material goods were also lost.

<sup>1.</sup> Yaşts, XIX, 32-33 (S.L.E., XXIII, p. 293).

This is also the opinion of the Vedāntins. Johanns summarizes the views of Vallabha thus:

"Before their fall souls enjoy the six glorious attributes of the Lord. They possess aisvarya, power and rulership; they enjoy  $v\bar{v}rya$ , which brings out the unrestrictedness of their power by any resistance especially material. They need no outside instruments in all their operations. Like God, they work through their mere presence and wish. Yasas and  $sr\bar{i}$  also characterize their essence, beauty and splendour that command recognition. They are crowned with glory.  $Jn\bar{a}na$  sets forth their unspotted spirituality and consequently their cognitive presence to everything in themselves. They need no external will and intellect to reach out towards consciousness. Before the fall they are all-compenetrating and that by their essence, and since this essence is  $jn\bar{a}na$ , they are omniscient.  $Vair\bar{a}gya$ , disgust from all material pleasure, is one more characteristic of the angelical nature. This description shows us from what height souls have fallen".

Not very different from this is the Christian tenet. The soul of Adam was created in the supernatural state of original grace, by which he was an adopted child of God and heir to the heavenly kingdom; but, besides, four other preternatural gifts were superadded: impassibility (by which he did not suffer in any way), bodily immortality (by which he would never have died, but would have been translated to heaven after a ripe age), subjection of all his lower passions and desires to reason, and wisdom as regards all things both natural and supernatural<sup>2</sup>.

Such was the golden age of mankind celebrated in classical European literature; the Satya Yuga of Indian literature, which only our first parents knew, but whose memory has come down to us from generation to generation, as a memorial of a happiness unfortunately lost, as a hope of a glory, which we cannot deserve but which God living among man may merit for all. The

<sup>1.</sup> Johanns, op. cit., III, pp. 42-43.

<sup>2.</sup> The existence of all these gifts in Adam is founded upon biblical texts. Cf. Hurter, Theologiae Dogmaticae Compendium, II, pp. 284-293 (Ceniponte, 1891).

Atharvaveda beautifully describes the fleet of golden ships that brought such heavenly happiness symbolised in the Kuṣṭha plant, "the blossom of Eternal Life", thus:

"There moved through heaven a golden ship,
a ship with cordage wrought of gold.

There the gods won the Kustha Plant, the
blossom of Eternal Life,

They sailed on pathways paved with gold,
the ways they plied were wrought of gold:
All golden were the ships wherein they carried
Kustha down to earth":

It is not, therefore, strange that the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa would extol so highly the original state of satya of man, as to excite the envy of the born devas, for they were like devas themselves: "The devas saw that in man were divine things (devata) ... which would enable him to succeed them after he has lived well on earth"<sup>2</sup>. The same ideas are also professed by the Jainas. According to them "the soul in its pure state is possessed of infinite perfection (ananta-darsana), infinite knowlege (ananta $j\bar{n}\bar{a}na$ ), infinite bliss (ananta-sukha) and infinite power (anantaviryra). It is all perfect". Rightly therefore does Dr. Sankalia challenge the dreams of some modern pseudo-scientists with reference to the first man, in a recent article of his: "Our Purāṇas tell us that he first appeared in the Satya Yuga. He was a perfect human being, happy, gay and truthful. Gradually he deteriorated, physically, mentally, morally, though he gained materially through the long aeons"4

The same idea is conveyed by the Egyptian account of the revolt of man against Rā, which we have referred to above. Rā and all the gods are said to have been living among men in happiness. The latter retained their physical vigour in old age<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1.</sup> Ath., V, 4, 4-5.

<sup>2.</sup> Jaiminīya Brāhmana, I, 98.

<sup>3.</sup> Dasgupta, A History of Indian Philosophy, I, p. 189.

<sup>4.</sup> Sankalia, "In Search of Early Man along the Sabarmati", Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, V. p. 15.

<sup>5.</sup> Naville, op. cit., p. 4.

The constant tradition of Christianity from the very first centuries of our history explains in detail the happiness of the first man's life after creation. Thus for instance St. John Chrysostom (4th century) describes the conditions of the very body of Adam: "If you wish to know how God in the beginning fashioned the body, let us go to Paradise and behold the event from its very start. For that body did not leave His hands corruptible and mortal, but it came out as a golden statue recently produced from the furnace, gloriously shining, totally impervious to all corruption. Nor was labour tiresome, nor sweat noxious, nor anxiety troublesome, nor was sadness known or did any other unpleasant feeling ever arise". "All these (graces)", continues he in another of his works, "were boons of immortality: conversation with God, labourless life, never to undergo any pain, anxiety or any other unpleasant affection. For Adam was not in need of even apparel or house, nor any other requirement, but he was similar to the angels, was acquainted with many future events and was endowed with great wisdom"2. St. Augustine adds: "Man in the state of innocence enjoyed true bliss, which was continually flowing from God, towards whom tended the human love springing from a pure heart, a good conscience and a natural faith". St. John Damascene (7th century) introduces Adam and Eve before the fall as "free from all solicitude without any other occupation but to be dedicated to God ceaselessly and enjoy his contemplation"4. This state of continual communication with God is beautifully and plastically expressed in the Khasi tradition. "At the beginning, there was peace and joy among men, and sin, pain and misery were unknown. God appointed man ruler of everything on earth and allowed him to eat and drink as he liked. God also made a covenant with man that the union between heaven and earth would continue for ever, provided that man committed no sin but remained faithful to God and righteous. If, on the other hand, man committed sin,

<sup>1.</sup> St. John Chrysostom, Ad Populum Anticchenum, Hcm .XI, 2: Migr.e, P.G., XLIX, col. 121.

<sup>2.</sup> St. John Chryscstom, In Epistolam I ad Cor., Hom. XVII, 3: Migne, P.G., LXI, col. 143.

<sup>3.</sup> St. Augustine, De Civitate Dei, VXXVI.

<sup>4.</sup> St. John Damascene, De Fide Orthodoxa, II, 10.

this union and fellowship would disappear. As a pledge of this covenant with man God set up a huge tree on the earth reaching up to heaven. As long as the tree remained unharmed, men could ascend to heaven and descend as often as they wished. If, on the contrary, men should ever cut it or fell it, the union between heaven and earth would be broken and sin, pain, misery and famine would become the lot of man".

This communication between God and man is much spoken of by the Ecclesiastical writers. Thus, for instance, St. Basil (4th century) explains: "Adam was in the heights, not physically, but spiritually, for at the first moment of its existence his soul, having lifted its right to heaven, and looking also at all things round him, was rejoicingly and with all his power loving his liberal benefactor who had given him an endless life and placed him in joyful paradise. He had given him a principality, as if he were an angel, and constituted him in the same way as the archangels participant of it and a hearer of the divine words. He was besides protected by God and the enjoyer of all his benefits"2. St. Gregory the Great (6th century) similarly tells us that "man in Paradise enjoyed God's conversation, and by the purity of his heart and his high contemplation he was like an angel. The human race had in Paradise that contemplation from an innermost light". The idea of this internal light of Adam is further developed by Hugh of St. Victor (12th century): "Man did not know his Creator simply by the knowledge that comes from outside and by oral teaching, but by internal knowledge, born from an inspiration within the soul. Not as we look for God absent and unknown through faith, but as one who is present by way of contemplation; though such contemplation was not the intuitive contemplation of heaven but the infused contemplation of the mystics through the gifts of the Holy Finally the famous Benedictine ascetic Fr. Baker (17th century) explains how this union and conversation with God

<sup>1.</sup> Narayan, op. cit., pp. 450-451.

<sup>2.</sup> St. Basil, Homilia "Qued Deus not est Auctor Mali", 7: Migne, P. G., XXXI, col. 343.

<sup>3.</sup> St. Gregory the Great, Dialogi, IV, 1: Migne, P. L., LXXVIII, col. 317.

<sup>4.</sup> Hugh of St. Victor, De Sacramentis, I, 6, 14: Migne, P. L., CLXXVI, col. 271.

was uninterrupted: "The union which Adam during his state of innocence did and would always have practised was in a sort perpetual, never being interrupted (except perhaps in sleep). For, loving God only and purely for Himself, he had no strange affection to distract him, and the images of creatures, which either by his consideration of them, or operations about them, did adhere to his internal senses, did not at all divert his mind from God, because he contemplated them only in order to God; or rather he contemplated God alone in them, loving and serving Him only in all his reflections on them, or workings about them. So that creatures and all offices towards them served as steps to raise Adam to a more sublime and more intimate union with God".

All these graces were not bestowed upon Adam individually only but as the head of the human race. Hence they would have also been bestowed upon all his children, had not sin intervened and spoiled all the future. "Adam", says a modern author, "was raised by God to a far higher state than was due to human nature. But this rank...was not conferred as a personal gift on Adam, it was meant for all his children. The human race was raised to this state of original justice in Adam, its head; the special privileges of that state were to go down to all his children to the end of time, on condition that he obeyed the command which God have him"<sup>2</sup>

Consequently this original grace bestowed upon Adam and all his descendants, a grace which embraced so many graces, never due to human nature, is called by St. Thomas Aquinas "the grace of the race".

### $\mathbf{VII}$

### THE LOSS OF THE ORIGINAL HAPPINESS

The Zamyād Yast tells us what happened when Yima committed the sin: "When he began to find delight in words of falsehood and untruth, the glory was seen to flee away from him in the shape of a bird. When his glory had disappeared, then the great Yima Khshaeta, the good shepherd, trembled and was in sorrow before his foes; he was confounded, and laid him

<sup>1.</sup> Baker, Holy Wisdom, p. 30.

<sup>2.</sup> O'Connor, Original Sin, p. 24.

down on the ground"1.

Firdausi also records the same sad event in words which are only a reflection of the ancient Iranian tradition:—

"Day darkened to Jamshed, he lost the grace That lightened the world, and though with tears Of blood he sought for pardon, grace was not, And dread of coming evil was his lot"<sup>2</sup>.

An Assyrian fragmentary tablet of the Legend of Adapa, referred to above, keeps the terrible sentence that befell Adapa after he had committed the sin:

"Upon this man may his horror fall ... sweet sleep not shall he enjoy".

Similarly in the Nippurian version of the Fall, as we saw above, as soon as the sin is committed Tagtug is "cursed with human frailty". And in order to emphasize the calamity more, the sorrow of the gods is described: "The Anunnaki, who as children of Enki were the special friends of the newly created man sat in the dust to weep over this direful calamity".

The Indian tradition about the effects of the Fall is also found uninterrupted down to modern times. Thus we read in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa: "These two worlds (heaven and earth) were (once) joined. (Subsequently) they separated. (After their separation) there fell neither rain nor was there sunshine. The five classes of beings then did not keep peace with one another".

Rāmāṇuja continues the line of this Indian tradition: "As soon as the soul turned away from God, the divine Sun set at its horizon. The soul could no longer apprehend God nor itself and its nature as a mode of God. Eritis sicut dii! The soul had broken its relation with God. It thus appeared to itself as its own independent principle, its own end and providence. And God sanctioned this rebellion. Before the eyes of the soul He displayed

<sup>1.</sup> Yasts, XIX, 7, 34. (S. B, E., XXIII, pp. 293-394). Cf. Bundahesh, XXIV, 4.

<sup>2.</sup> Warner, op. cit., V, 27, I, p. 135.

<sup>3.</sup> Langdon, op. cit., p. 48.

<sup>4.</sup> Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>5.</sup> Aitareya Brāhmana, IV, 4, 27 (Houg, II, p. 308).

unconscious Nature and upset the harmony by which Nature tends to adapt itself to the soul. Rajas arose, the guna that fills the soul with rebellious instincts and passions and invites it to seek the vain pleasures of the world. Tamas followed suit, which paralyses all its ideal endeavours. The soul, no longer able to repose on God reclined on Nature. But there is no rest in Nature. So Nature carried the soul away into the whirlpool of transmigration. The soul had indeed what it wanted. It was now allowed to try its skill in the line of absoluteness. It could arrange its own world by its own karma, create the latter by its sins and enjoy by retribution vain pleasures and real sorrows. It lived now as if it were a mode of Nature since it identified itself with its own body.

The Śaiva Siddhantists of South India, too, maintain the same belief. Thus Umāpathi tells us that the "ignorance of all that souls should know is the gift of the "sons of darkness'", i.e. the devils². This ignorance is called ānava, and though Śiva is light, the soul cannot see him, owing to this ānava which has entered the soul³. "The only rational explanation of the doctrine of ānava mala', says Fr. Gnana Prakasar, "as taught by the moderns, consists in recognizing in it the effects of that great fall of the human race in Adam, which is technically called 'Original Sin'. That man is vicious and misguided, and that his base inclinations betray a deep degradation of his nature are facts of everybody's intimate consciousness. Universal tradition has attributed this sad state of things to some great sin in the distant past".

The Tamilians realising the poisoned condition of human nature and remembering that all these miseries and calamities spring from that unfortunate sin of Yama, brand the latter with the uncharitable epithet of vakira tantan "the one of the fang" or "curved tooth", because through him all this poison has overcome his descendants. •

Even in modern times Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan philosophizes upon the Fall of the first man, thus: "The Fall symbolizes

<sup>1</sup> Johanns, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>2.</sup> Umāpathi, III. 26 (Pope, The Tiruvāsagam, p. LXXXV).

<sup>3.</sup> Umāpathi, Kodi Kavi, sutra I, p. 1.

<sup>4.</sup> Gnana Prakavar, Philosophical Shaivism, p. 184.

the disintegration of the harmony, the lapse from the primeval condition into division, from a unitive life into a separate self-centered one".

The book of *Genesis* ends the chapter in which the commission of the sin is narrated, summarising the conversion of the pristine happiness into misery, thus: "And the Lord God sent him (Adam) out of the paradise of pleasure, to till the earth from which he was taken. And he cast out Adam: and placed before the paradise of pleasure Cherubims, and a flaming sword, turning every way, to keep the way of the tree of life".

### VIII

THE SIN OF MAN TRANSMITTED TO HIS POSTERITY

That this sin of Adam has influenced all his descendants individually is implied in the text of the Yasna under study when it declares that Yima gave kine flesh to his descendants (according to one translation) or ate that flesh himself to satisfy them (according to another).

Thus also the Assyrian tradition holds the universality of the effects of the sin of Adapa: "Whatsoever of ill this man has brought upon men, and the disease he has brought upon the bodies of men, the goddess Minkarrak will allay it".

We have already seen how Indian philosophers explain the sinful condition of mankind as an effect of that sin. The Khasi tradition puts it vividly in a pathetic way: "There was nothing now to hide the light of the sun, moon and stars; but alas! the covenant with God was permanently broken and there was no longer a ladder to ascend to heaven. Sin and pain spread in the world and mother earth groaned in her unspeakable sorrow. She, having called her five children to herself, revealed to them the suffering of her heart and died. The sun, moon and stars, the earth's children, overshelmed with grief hid their faces and there was darkness on earth. Men were in utter perplexity. They could not run to God for help, since they had offended Him and the

<sup>1.</sup> Radhakrishaan, Eastern Religions and the Western World, p. 41.

<sup>2.</sup> Gen., II, 23-24.

<sup>1.</sup> Langdon, op. cit., pp. 47-48.

ladder too had gone. Despair and confusion reigned among all mankind".

Truly and succintly has St. Paul put it: "By the disobedience of one man, many (polloi="all" in Greek) were made sinners", viz. not personally, but by inheritance. As the grace lost was the grace of the race, so the sin of the first man was also the "sin of the race," sahaja mala, "the hereditary impurity".

The book of *Genesis*, immediately after the narrative of the first sin shows the deordination of man's nature in his own body. Before, as said above, all the concupiscence was subjected to reason; but now "the eyes of them both were opened: and when they perceived themselves to be naked, they swed together fig-leaves and made themselves aprons".

Thus the sin of the first man was equivalent to setting loose all the passions of man, which he could perfectly control with his reason before the Fall. For this purpose the  $Jaimin\bar{\imath}ya$   $Br\bar{a}hmana$  says that in order to prevent man from succeeding to their happiness the devas placed evil  $(p\bar{a}pman)$  in him, i.e., sleep, indolence, anger, hunger, desire for dice and women. "These are the evils which attach themselves to man in this world".

St. Albert the Great explains this problem briefly and correctly from the point of view of a theologian: "It is not correct to suppose that concupiscence (or pleasure) is an evil. The real trouble about fallen man is not the strength of his pleasures, but the weakness of his reason, which cannot control the former: unfallen man could have enjoyed any degree of pleasure without losing sight for a moment of the First Good". "Thus", concludes St. Thom is Aquinas, "the submergence of the rational faculty in front of the sexual desire and pleasure, is not a sin, but it is certainly an evil as a result of the Fall". "Up to that moment",

<sup>1.</sup> Narayan, op, cit., pp. 451-52.

<sup>2.</sup> Rom., V, 19.

<sup>8.</sup> Gen., III, 7.

<sup>4.</sup> Jaiminīya Brāhma, a I, 99.

<sup>5.</sup> St. Albert the Great, In Petri Lombardi Sententiarum, 1, IV, dist. 26, art. 7,

<sup>6.</sup> St. Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica, I-II, 34, a. 1.

explains C.S. Lewis, "the human spirit had been in full control of the human organism. It doubtless expected that it would retain this control when it had ceased to obey God. But its authority over the organism was a delegated authority which it lost when it ceased to be God's delegate. Having cut itself off, as far as it could, from the source of its being, it had cut itself off from the source of power. For when we say of created things that A rules B this must mean that God rules B through A. I doubt whether it would have been intrinsically possible for God to continue to rule the organism through the human spirit when the human spirit was in revolt against Him. At any rate He did not. He began to rule the organism in a more external way, not by the laws of the spirit but by those of nature. Thus the organs, no longer governed by man's will, fell under the control of ordinary biochemical laws and suffered whatever the inter-workings of those laws might bring about in the way of pain, senility and death. And desires began to come up into the mind of man, not as his vision chose, but just as the biochemical and environmental facts happened to cause them. And the mind itself fell under the phychological laws of association and the like which God had made to rule the psychology of the higher anthropoids. And the will, caught in the tidal wave of mere nature, had no resource but to force back some of the new thoughts and desires by main streangth, and these uneasy rebels became the subconscious as we now know it. The process was not, I conceive, comparable to mere deterioration as it may now occur in a human individual; it was a loss of status as a species. What man lost by the Fall was his original specific nature". Yet nothing was removed from him which was actually due to his nature. So though it is true that he lost his original specific nature, he did not lose his specific nature, but that was bad enough.

### IX

#### THE LOSS OF IMMORTALITY

In the Avesta it is not clearly said that owing to the sin, Yima lost the gift of immortality, but the fact that he

<sup>1.</sup> Lewis, op. cit., pp. 69-70.

is repeatedly called "the first mortal", in the Vendidad, in spite of his protest, "There shall be, while I am king, neither cold wind nor hot wind, neither disease nor death", shows that he had not to die; and yet he actually died. The suspicion of Firdausi that the demon had devised feeding the serpent of Zahak's shoulders on human brains in order to finish with the human race, is yet another expression of the Iranian tradition that death entered the world through the sin of Yima.

The same seems to be the implication of the often repeated expression in Vedic literature with reference to Yama:—

"Who travelled to the lofty heights above us, who searches out and shows the path to many.

Yama first found for us a place to dwell in<sup>3</sup>.

Reverence be to Yama, who first arrived at the river (separating life from death), spying out the road for many"<sup>4</sup>.

Yama indeed had to cross the river of death, but had he not committed the sin, he would not have had to cross it at all. Men, indeed, are traditionally called in India  $amrtasya\ putr\bar{a}h$ , "children of immortality"<sup>5</sup>.

More clearly is the loss of immortality seen in the Sumerian tradition when it presents us Adapa refusing, by mistake, to eat the food of immortality, when he heard this sentence issued from the lips of Anu:—

"Come, oh Adapa, why hast thou not eaten not drunk?

Not shalt thou remain alive" 6.

The Egyptian tradition also refers to the death of men, after they spoke against Rā: "This goddess (Hathor) went out and she killed men upon earth".

<sup>1.</sup> Vendidad I, 1, 1 and 2.

<sup>2.</sup> Ibid., 7 (S.B.E., IV, p. 12).

<sup>8.</sup> Rg., X. 14, 2.

<sup>4.</sup> Ath., VI, 28, 3.

<sup>5.</sup> Cf. Radhakrishnan, An Idealist View of Life, p. 307.

<sup>6.</sup> Langdon, op. cit., p. 46.

<sup>7.</sup> Naville, op. cit., p. 7.

In the account of Genesis the prohibition to eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil is connected with the penalty of dying: "Of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat. For in what day soever thou shalt eat of it, thou shalt die the death". Consequently we read in the book of Wisdom: "Death came into the world by the envy of the devil", who tempted man as he was envious of his happiness. And St. Paul says dogmatically: "In Adam all die". And again: "The wages of sin is death".

### $\mathbf{X}$

#### THE DIVINE REMEDY OF THE SIN

"If, for the moment, we could mentally eliminate the idea of original sin", says Fr. Lebreton, "and transport ourselves to the earthly paradise, we should find that conditions of happiness prevailed of quite a different kind; sorrow, mourning, persecution would no longer be the lot of God's children and the mark of their predestination to eternal life. God, our loving Father, finds no pleasure in our tears, nor was it suffering that He originally chose as our portion here below. But when sin had destroyed the primitive design, He conceived that which is in operation now".

This present economy was announced by God Himself to the guilty couple, immediately after the sin, when speaking to the serpent. "I will put enmities between thee and the woman and thy seed and her seed; she shall crush thy head". By the sin of Adam the devil acquired dominion over the human race; but a day will come when the head and power of the devil will be crushed by a woman with her seed, that is her son. If the power of the devil over man is to be destroyed, this means that the kingdom of God will be restored among men.

This is the certainty that Firdausi has when he describes the defeat of Zahak at the hands of Faridun:

<sup>1.</sup> Gen., II, 17.

<sup>2.</sup> Widd, II, 24.

<sup>3.</sup> I Cor., XV, 22.

<sup>4.</sup> Rom., VII, 23.

<sup>5.</sup> Lebreton, The Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ, I, pp. 149-150.

<sup>6.</sup> Gen., III, 15.

"The Glory of Zahak became like dust,
And earth was cleansed from his abominations".

This man who had to destroy the power of the demon, could not be a simple man, for all men were under the enemy and could not rise above him. The task was too colossal for a single man. He had to be a man but also God. This intervention of the divinity to cure the miseries of man and redressing the mistaken course of his history is hinted at in many an ancient tradition. The Assyrian fragment mentioned above expressly says:—

"Whatsoever of ill this man (Adapa) has brought upon men, and the disease he has brought upon the bodies of men, the goddess Ninkarrak will allay it". In point of fact after Tagtug eats the fruit of the cassia plant this goddess is introduced together with God Enlil "planning to send divine patrons to assist fallen humanity".

In India, too, the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa after recording the separation of heaven and earth, mentioned above, hopefully adds: "The gods brought about a reconciliation of both these worlds".

Striking above all is the myth of the Kurmavatāra when all men good and evil, devas and asuras, wanted to recover the food of immortality, amṛta; which they could not but for the intervention of Viṣṇī. In the course of this story God Śiva himself is shown swallowing the poison which would have infected the whole of mankind but for his generous, selfless act.

Mankind has always fully realised that Goddoes not want that the sinner should die but "that he may be converted from his wicked way, and live". But this implies the conversion of the human will.

<sup>1.</sup> Warner, op.cit., I, v. 61, p. 169.

<sup>2.</sup> Langdon, op. cit., pp. 47-48.

<sup>3.</sup> Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>4.</sup> Aitareya Brāhmana, IV, 4, 27 (ibid).

<sup>5.</sup> Esech., III, 18.

### THE OLD IRANIAN CALENDAR\*

A Review of Its History from the Most Ancient Times to the Present Day, and a Suggestion for Its Reform in the Future

By: Mr. Sohrab Jamshedjee Bulsara, M. A.

# CALCULATION OF TIME IN PRIMITIVE EPOCHS SEASONAL AND SOLAR ROTATIONS

Primitive man calculated time on the foundations of the periodic waxing and waning of the moon, the periodic return of the seasons and the periodic reappearance of the rising of certain stars at fixed times in the evenings. As for comparatively short periods these last two appeared to be simultaneous, the rotation of the seasons was erroneously associated with the rising of certain evening stars and the corresponding apparent movement of the Sun among the stars.

## THE SEASONAL YEAR IS SLIGHTLY SHORTER THAN THE SOLAR YEAR

These two last are not however exactly simultaneous. When knowledge increased and man was able to observe minute differences he found that the seasons were not exactly simultaneous with the rising of the evening stars and the Sun's corresponding apparent movement in the Zodiac. The seasons appeared to arrive slightly earlier than the exact appearance of the corresponding evening stars and the return of the Sun to the corresponding point in the Zodiac.

# THE DATE OF THE VERNAL EQUINOX IN THE SOLAR YEAR CANNOT THEREFORE BE CONSTANT

This difference is only of 20 minutes and 23.14 seconds annually. The seasons arrived earlier by that tiny period of time every year than the exact appearance of the corresponding evening

<sup>\*</sup> Some of the points dealt with in this paper were included in a Gujerati lecture the author gave at Soth Ashburner's Daremeher in Khetwadi in Bombay on April 12, 1940, which was its Four lation Day

stars of the previous year. Thus although the Vernal Equinox falls on the 21st of March in the present Christian year which is supposed to be a solar year or a year corresponding to the period of the Sun's apparent movement among the stars and his return to the same point in them from which he started, in previous years this Equinox did not fall exactly where about the same day the Sun now returns to the starting point in the Zodiac after his apparent movement across it. Actually indeed the Vernal Equinox appeared on April 22, 2150 solar years ago, and will fall on February 19, 2150 solar years hence.

## AND THE ZARTHUSHTRIAN SEASONAL YEAR CANNOT START AT A FIXED POINT IN THE ZODIAC

As we shall presently see the Zarthushtrian year is a seasonal year, and so it would be erroneous to connect the commencement of the Zarthushtrian year with a fixed point in the Zodiac. To do so would be to regard it as a solar year which it really is not. Indeed tradition attributes the adjustment of the ancient Iranian Calendar to the great king Jamshid and says that he commanded that the Iranian year should start from the day on which the Sun entered the first point in Aries, and be complete just before he re-entered it; but that does not appear to be the correct view as we shall presently see.

THE ANCIENT IRANIAN CALENDAR, AND ADJUSTMENT IN IT
TO KEEP THE YEAR TIED TO THE SEASONS

The Iranians appear to have formed a year of 365 days from the earliest times; but they must have found in the course of several years that the seasons did not remain stuck to certain fixed days in that year as they wanted them to do. How they mended that flaw is not clear excepting that the only definite fact noted is that till the end of the pure Iranian Empire with the fall of the Sassanian dominion, they calculated the length of the year as being of 365 days to be supplemented by the addition of one month to every 120th year. That way of correction did not quite adjust the seasonal or tropical year of the Zarathushtrians as the above facts show and as will be made more clear later on here.\*

<sup>\*</sup> As however it is said that the Stale called a conclave of astronomeralete, to adjust the intercolation every 120 years it was probable that the accumulation of about 40 hours of seasonal precession in 120 years would be properly considered in it

## TAN THE JAMSHIDI NAOROZE BE IDENTIFIED WITH THE ZARATHUSHTRIAN NEW YEAR DAY?

It will thus be seen that if the Jamshidi Naoroze is the New Year day fixed to be the day of the Sun's entry into the first point of Aries, it cannot be the Zarathushtrian New Year Day. As a matter of fact although that is how the Jamshidi Naoroze is described, in actual practice it is identified now with the Zarathushtrian New Year Day of the Vernal Equinox. The Vernal Equinox happens to fall on the 21st of March in the present Christian year, whereas the Sun enters the first point in Aries about the 13th of April, where he has always been doing so in his annual movements, making allowances for the change in the tilting of the earth's axis which describes a complete round of a Cone's surface every 25800 years on every return to the original position.

### AVESTAN TERMS SIGNIFYING "YEAR"

The ancient Iranian year has been known by the terms . ددسداری and دعست و در در در دیستری . Of these the first is the proper term applied to signify the "year", and is really the predecessor of the English word "year". is applied to indicate the years nearest the glacial epochs. The term really signifies "winter" and by a stretch of meaning is applied to signify the year in days in which winter was the most impressive season. It apparently meant a year ending with the winter season. مركوري appears to signify "approach" meaning the commencement of winter and seems to have been applied to indicate the year commencing with winter. בערלאָפָּע properly signifies "cold" or "wet-cold season", indicating season of snow-falls or rain-showers of winter, and apparently again was applied to signify the year ending with such season. The "Maidhyàirya" Gàhambàr which should fall on days corresponding to December 31 to January 4 or rather to December 26-30, as we shall explain later on, is associated with عدراهم in

The Bundaheshn notes that in old Iran, the commencement of winter was proclaimed by ignition of fires on the Atar day of the month Daè; but in more ancient times winter was starting with the month Abàn as Iran of those days was in much higher latitudes; see Chap. xxv, 7, 11. The Bundaheshn apparently refers in this last statement to that regional Iran in which the winter season lasted for five months at the close of the year.

the Visparat.\* The Sanskrit रादा signifies both "Autumn" and "Year" as the Hindu year falls in Autumn. So it would seem and रादा both signify "Year" but have a different season associated with each.

WINTER WAS THE MOST SIGNIFICANT SEASON IN ANCIENT IRAN

It is apparent from the history of these terms that winter was the most impressive season for the ancient Iranians and of all seasons had the greatest significance for them. That also shows that in calculating the year the seasons supplied to them the basis of calculation and determination of the Calendar most of all.

#### AND THE YEAR WAS TIED DOWN TO THE SEASONS

There is clearer evidence to show that from the most ancient times, the Iranian year was tied down to the seasons. The year was divided into periods called  $Y\dot{a}iryas$  or portions of  $Y\dot{a}rr$  or the "Year". The term " $Y\dot{a}irya$ " was used as the general descriptive term for the Seasonal Festival which in later language is called the Gàhambàr. The year has six such Yàiryas or Gàhambàrs: (1) "Maidhyói-Zaremaya" or the "Period of Mid-Green" as the expression literally means, (2) "Maidhyói-Shema" or "Mid-Summer", (3) "Paitis-Hahya" or "Approach of Harvesting Time", (4) "Ayàthrema" or "Time of Going-over (to Winter Quarters)", (5) "Maidhyàirya" or "Mid-Season", apparently indicating the middle of the ancient winter of five months of Avan, Adar, Daé, Bahman and Spendarmad,\*\* or the period covering the days from October 17 to March 20, which would be clear from the fact that it falls exactly two-and-a-half months after the preceding Gàhambàr and two-and-a-half months before the next, which two intervals make up the five months of winter, and (6) "Hamaspathmaèdaya" or "Time of the Equinox".

AND THE FESTIVALS WERE SEASONAL IN THAT YEAR

According to the Visparat these six seasonal festivals are associated with certain periodic circumstances of the seasonal year. Thus the first Gàhambàr "Maidhyoi-Zaremaya" is associated with the period of the greatest lactation in animals, the second

"Maidhyoi-Shema" with the best pasturage period of the year, the fourth "Ayàthrema" with the rutting season in animals, the fifth "Maidhyàirya" with the season of extreme cold, and the sixth "Hamaspathmaèdaya" with the season of the "Arrtò-Krrrthana" or the "Divine Concerts for the Glorification of Righteousness" which naturally would take place on the five Gatha days¹ at the close of the year.²

EACH OF THESE SEASONAL FESTIVALS IS TIED UP WITH
CERTAIN DAYS IN THE YEAR

That the Gàhambars are Seasonal Festivals can further be seen by examining the days in the Zarathushtrian calendar to which they are tied up, and the seasonal circumstances of those days.

The days of the "Maidhyòi-Zaremaya" Gàhambàr are Khorshed to Daé-pa-Mihir of the month Ardibehesht; of "Maidhyòi-Shema" Gàhambàr are Khorshed to Daé-pa-Mihir of the month Tir; of the "Paitis-Hahya" Gàhambàr are Arshtàt to Anèràn of the month Shèhrévar; of the "Ayàthrèma" Gàhambàr are Arshtàt to Anérán of the month Mihir; of the "Maidhyáirya" Gáhambár are Mihir to Behrám³ of the month Daé; and of the "Hamaspathmaédaya" Gáhambár are the five Gáthá days added after the end of Spendarmad, the last month of the year.

DAYS CORRESPONDING TO THEM IN THE CHRISTIAN YEAR

Although the error is sometimes committed of confounding the Zarathushtrian seasonal or tropical year with the solar year, there is no doubt that the Zarathushtrian year according to all evidences is to start on the day of the Vernal Equinox<sup>4</sup>. Taking that as happening at present on March 21, the dates of the above Gahambars would be April 30-May 4, June 29-July 3, September 12-16, October 12-16, December 31-January 4<sup>5</sup>, and March 16-20 respectively.

<sup>1.</sup> See Nirangastan Bk. II, Chap. V: A, 13 note 1.

<sup>2.</sup> See Visparat II, 2.

<sup>3.</sup> As will be explained below there days should rather be Khorshed to Daé-pa-Mihir or December 26-30 of the rectified year.

<sup>4.</sup> See Bundaheshn XXV, 6; Dinkard Bk. III, Chap. cdxix, 6, 7; Dastur Peshotan Memorial Volume, pp. 165-175, etc.

<sup>5.</sup> Rather December 26-30; see the next paragraph.

A DISCREPANCY IN THE INTERVALS BETWEEN THE GAHAMBARS.

AND ITS EXPLANATION

Strangely enough the intervals between the successive Gáhambárs, as calculated from the day following Gàhambàr to the end of the next, are multiples of 15 excepting that between the first or last days of the Ayáthrema and Maidhyáirya Gáhambárs, which is of 80 days. It is not difficult to see why there are five additional days in this interval and not between the last two Gáhambárs where that addition might fittingly be expected owing to the addition of the five Gátha days at the end of the year to make up the 365 integral days of its proper length. That interval had apparently been so extended by five days when the Gátha days were added between the Ayáthrema and Maidhyàirya Gàhambàrs when the calendar was last adjusted during the Sassanian dominion and the Gatha days were placed at the end of the Aban month which falls between these two Gahambars, and the interval between these was not shortened when they were shifted in 1006 A.C. to form the close of the year and to coincide with the days of the Hamaspathmaédaya Gahambar as we shall see later on. It is apparent that on shifting the Gatha days to take their position immediately after the Spendarmad month, the Maidhyàirya Gàhambàr should have fallen on days 11-15 of the 10th month Daé instead of days 16-20 of that month as they do at present, and the augmentation of the interval between the Gàhambàrs by five days should have been shifted to the interval between the last two Gàhambàrs.

It is apparent therefore that according to the present position of the Gathas the Maidhyàirya Gàhambàr should now fall on days 11-15 of the tenth month Daé corresponding to December 26-30, and not on days 16-20 corresponding to December 31-January 4 as they would do at present.

SEASONAL ASSOCIATIONS OF THE SEVERAL GAHAMBARS FITTING
IN WITH THE DATES GIVEN TO THEM

Thus in the correctly adjusted Calendar, the days of the Maidhyoi-Zaremaya Gahambar should fall on April 30-May 4. That is the time in which Spring is in its full bloom and its name meaning "Mid-Green" rightly describes the season and so does

the Visparat when it calls it the period of the greatest lactation in animals. The days of the Maidhyoi-Shema Gahambar should fall on June 29-July 3, which are the days on which Summer should be in its full strength as the name of the Gàhambàr "Midsummer" would also indicate, and which would be the time of the best pasturage as the Visparat notes about it. The days of the "Paitis-Hahya" Gàhambàr should fall on September 12-16, when the harvesting time is approaching as both the name of the Gàhambàr and the description in the Visparat show. The "Ayàthrema" Gàhambàr should fall on October 12-16, which as the name of the Gàhambàr shows would be the time of going into winter quarters, and also the rutting season in animals as the Visparat says. The "Maidhyàirya" Gahambar should fall on December 26-30 as we have explained above, and is rightly associated by the Visparat with the days of extreme cold. The "Hamaspathmaédaya" Gàhambàr should fall on March 16-20, when the Equinox falls as the name indicates, and when owing to its falling on the Gatba days the "Arrtó-Krrrthana" or the "Divine concerts for the Glorification of Righteousness" would occur as the Visparat specially notes about it.

## THE FOUR PRINCIPAL GAHAMBARS ASSOCIATED WITH THE FOUR SEASONS OF THE YEAR

These dates of the several Gàhambàrs would show that the Gàhambàrs specially associated with the four seasons of the year are "Maidhyoi-Shema", "Paitis-Hahya", "Maidhyàirya" and "Hamaspathmaédaya", because these respectively occur almost on the days of the Summer Solstice (June 21), Autumnal Equinox (September 22), Winter Solstice (December 22) and the Vernal Equinox (March 21). The other two Gahambars were apparently added as they mark important days in the life of the ancient Iranians.

The Bundaheshn divides the year into the four seasons of Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter, and in doing so assigns the months of Fravardin, Ardibehesht, and Khordad to Spring, Tir, Amardad and Shehrevar to Summer, Mihir, Avan and Adar to Autumn, and Daé, Bahman and Spendarmad to Winter<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1.</sup> See Nirargastan Bk. II, Chap. V; A. 13 note 1. 2 Bundaheshn Chap. XXV, 20.

SEASONS DIFFERENTLY ASSOCIATED WITH ANCIENT IRAN SHOW
CHANGE IN ITS SITUATION

In the earliest home of the ancient Iranians they had only two seasons of Summer and Winter, because Spring coalesced into Summer and Autumn into Winter owing to the extremes of climate prevailing in it. According to the Vendidad¹ ancient Iran was situated in such northern latitudes that it had ten months of Winter and two only of Summer. Later on the people seem to have come down to such latitudes that there prevailed seven months of Summer and five only of Winter². They then appear to have shifted to still lower latitudes in later ages, where they experienced the four seasons mentioned above³.

THE TREK OF THE NATIONS OF ARYAN STOCK FROM THE EXTREME NORTH FANNING OUT IN FOUR DIRECTIONS TOWARDS THE SOUTH

It is clear therefore that modern Iran does not quite represent the site of ancient Iran. From the present evidence of the trek of the nations belonging to the Aryan race, it can easily be seen that the home of the present group of all Aryan nations must have been in northern Europe and west of the Ural Mountains. From there it expanded and fanned out towards the west and the south so as to cover all Europe and across the Caucasus and down along the Alburz Mountains into the Punjab in India. Another trek seems to have followed along the Ural Mountains down towards the regions on the east banks of the Caspian Sea, through Central Asia to Bactriana and Cashmere.

IN THAT TREK THE IRANIANS HALTED FOR CONSIDERABLE AGES
IN THE MIDDLE OF THE COURSE

The most ancient Iran was therefore in Northern Europe, the Iran of the middle epochs and of Avesta formation stretched from southern European Russia across the Caucasus through Armenia and Kurdistan eastwards to Khorasan and Seistan bordering on the Punjab, and across the Volga and the Ural rivers through the regions on the east of the Caspean Sea to the tableland of the Pamirs through Sogdiana and Bactriana. Modern

<sup>1</sup> See Vendidad I, 4 and II, 40.

<sup>2</sup> See Pahlavi Vendidad I, 4.

<sup>3</sup> See note 1 above.

Iran was of much later formation. The Avestan epochs concerned the first two only.

THE FORMATION AND ADJUSTMENT OF THE ANCIENT IRANIAN

CALENDAR

We have seen above that the Iranian year was a seasonal year and it started with the Vernal Equinox and ended just before the next. Its length, to be very accurate, is of 365 days, 5 hours, 28 minutes and 23.14 seconds. It is therefore shorter than the Solar year by 20 minutes and 23.14 seconds.

According to all evidences this year was divided into twelve months of 30 days each and 5 days were added after the last month to make up the 365 integral days of the year<sup>1</sup>, and it was sought to make up the loss of five hours and a fraction by the addition of one month to every 120th year.

POSSIBLY UNCORRECTED FLAW IN ITS PERIODIC ADJUSTMENT

We shall presently see that this way of intercalation did not exactly correct the year, and as it is said that the state called in the help of astronomers and other learned people to settle the intercalation it is not improbable that they managed the calculation in a more scientific way.

As we have seen above the ancient Iranian year started on the day of the Vernal Equinox. That happens to be about the 21st of March at present; but it was not always so in preceding epochs, nor will it remain so in future epochs. Some 2150 years ago it fell on April 22, and some 2150 years hence it will fall on February 19.

THE EQUINOXES AND SOLSTICES CANNOT BE TIED DOWN TO FIXED DATES OF THE SOLAR YEAR

We have also seen that March 21 happens to be the day of the Vernal Equinox at present, but that is not the day on which the Sun enters the first point of Aries. The Sun enters the first

Curiously enough, not only did the ancient Egyptian and Babylonian year too consist of twelve months of thirty days each with five days added at the close, but the calendar of the French and Russian revolutions was also arranged the same way. And further still, the month of that French calendar had three weeks of ten days each exactly as the ancient Avestan month had.

point of Aries about April 13. The Zarathushtrian year being seasonal or tropical and not solar, it has nothing to do with that incident, and rightly should start on March 21 at present, and on whatever day the Vernal Equinox may fall in future.

The Christian year is a Solar Year, but does not start on the day when the Sun enters the first point of Aries; and its dates in relation to the seasons will not always remain fixed, but will change in course of time, unless adjustments are made for their doing so.

THE CORRECT ADJUSTMENT OF THE SEASONAL YEAR

We have seen above that the seasonal year or the time a point in a season takes to reappear, is 365 days, 5 hours, 28 minutes and 26.06 seconds long. So the Zarathushtrian year which ordinarily is made up of twelve months of 30 days each and 5 Gatha days added at their close, has yet to make up for the additional five hours and a fraction. As we have seen above, the ancients are said to have managed that by adding a month of thirty days every 120 years. To be exact that should be every 124.65 years. If a month of thirty days were added at the end of 125 years for each of their eleven turns and on the twelfth turn at the close of 120 years, the accuracy of the calendar would be fairly maintained.

TWO KNOWN MODES OF ITS ADJUSTMENT IN OLD TIMES.
ONE SUGGESTING CHRONOLOGICAL CYCLES

That however is a consideration for the future. In considering the past we have to deal with facts as they have actually happened. All past records¹ tell us that an intercalation of one month of thirty days was made every 120 years. Facts noted by Al-Biruni and in Pahlavi works indicate that this was done in two ways. One way was to do so by doubling the last month every 120 years and keeping the five Gatha days at their close. The other way was simply to transfer the five Gatha days and place them after the following month every 120 years.

The first method was followed in religious circles and was therefore maintained to keep the year in harmony with the seasonal

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, the Dinkard Bk. III, Chap. cccxix, 13, and Al-Biruni's "Chronology of Ancient Nations", Sachau's translation, p. 56, etc.

holidays and celebrations as fixed to come on its certain days. The second method was followed in all civil affairs to avoid difficulties which might arise owing to adjustments needed for the thirteenth month.

This last method supplied a very important clue. It showed how many intercalations had preceded in the current cycle, and might suggest some connection with the start of the cycle or its predecessors.

#### THE LAST INTERCALATIONS UNDER IMPERIAL SANCTION

It appears that such intercalations were carried out regularly, at any rate during the Sassanian rule, and were brought down almost from the foundation of the Achaemenian Empire and possibly from aeons in still further past. In the Sassanian epoch such last intercalation took place in 406 A. C. during the sovereignty of Yazdagard-é Shàhpuharàn, i.e. Yazdagard I (399-420 A. C.)², the son of Shahpur II. When arrangements were being made to do so, astrologers drew the attention of the monarch that distracting events would occur at the time of the next intercalation due in 526 A. C., and so it would be prudent to make that next intercalation also along with the current one.

That suggestion appears to have been followed. In the civil calendar the rotating five Gatha days appear to have been then

References to such double system in the old Iranian calendar are found in Pahlavi Vendidad Fragard VIII, 22; Greater Bundaheshn, Ervad Tehmurasp's Text, Fol. 59A, 11.13-15; and Zat-Sparam's Zartosht Nama, on date of Zarathushtra's passing away.

It must be remembered that references in Dr. Louis Gray's paper on "Mediæval Greek References to Avestan Calendar" in Destur Peshotan Memorial Volume, pp. 167-175, indicate the intercalation of a day every fourth year in the calendar revised in 1099 under the direction of the Saljuki sovereign Malek Shah, and prepared specially for conveniences of civil administration. It had nothing to do with the Zarathushtrian Calendar revised in 1006 A. C.

It would be interesting to note that Yazdagard I, the father of the celebrated Behram-e-Gore, was the contemporary of the Roman emperors Arcadius and Theodosius II. Arcadius was the first ruler of the Eastern Roman Empire, and he had such faith in the Persian monarch that he appointed him guardian of his infant son Theodossius, which charge Yazdagard fulfilled with friendly ardour and honour.

at the end of the sixth month Shéhrévar. So now they were transferred to follow the eighth month Àvàn in that calendar.

POLITICAL TROUBLES KEPT INTERCALATION IN ABEYANCE FOR ABOUT FIVE CENTURIES

As the intercalation due in 526 A. C. was thus carried out in 406 A. C., the next that would be needed was to become due in 646 A. C. This however fell in the unhappy time when the Sassanian dominion had almost ended.

Dr. M. B. Davar in his interesting Gujerati paper on the "First Month in the Zarathushtrian Calendar", quotes Al-Farghani (middle of eighth century of Christ), Masaudi (middle of tenth century of Christ), Hamza Isphani (middle of tenth century of Christ) and Ibn-Junis (close of tenth century of Christ), to prove that up to the end of the tenth century of Christ the Gatha days had continued to remain at the end of the Åban month.

THE LAST INTERCALATION IN IRAN IN 1006 A.C.

Dr. Davar also quotes the German chronicler Ideler citing in his work, published in 1814-5, a passage from a manuscript in the Royal Library in Berlin that according to the Arab writer Abul-Hasan Kushyar, in 375 A. Y. or 1006 A. C. the sun happened to enter Aries on Hormazd Roz of the first month Fravardin², and so that opportunity was taken to correct the error in the Iranian calendar that had continued owing to four intercalations having remained unattended to. So in 1006 A. C.³ corresponding to 375 A. Y. the Gatha days which had remained at the end of the eighth month Aban were transferred just after the twelfth month Spéndarmad. As the Iranian New Year Day fell on June 16, 632 when Yazdagard Shahryar ascended the throne, in the course of 375 years which followed it the New Year would shift to March 15

<sup>1 &#</sup>x27;'જરચાસ્તી પંચાંગના પહેલા મહિના કયા? ", Fort Printing Press, Bombay, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> This is not correct. See what follows.

This era was remarkable for revival of Iranism in Iran and surrounding areas. Shah Kavous Vashmgir (976-1012 A. C.), the patron of the celebrated writer Al-Biruni, was the ruler in Tabaristan, and belonged to a branch of the Sassanian imperial house; and it was not improbable that the above intercalation was made under his direction and patronage.

in 1006 A. C.; so this day could not be the day of the Sun's entry into the first point of Aries as moderns understand it. Actually indeed the year was again brought in harmony with the seasons as it was originally, and the Sun's entry into Aries had nothing to do with the arrival of the Vernal Equinox excepting in an accidental way.

It would appear that the ecclesiastical year in which the intercalation was made by the addition of a thirteenth month at the end of every 120th year by doubling the last month Spéndàrmad seems also to have been duly corrected at the time of the above intercalation in 1006 A. C., and the first day of the first month Fravardin which had outrun the day of the Vernal Equinox by four months was brought back to that Equinox day.

ANOTHER REFERENCE TO THIS INTERCALATION IN A PAHLAVI WORK

This is not the only evidence of the intercalation which took place in 375 A. Y. In the library of late Ervad Tehmuras Dinshahji Anklesaria is an important Pahlavi Manuscript with the title: "Porseshnihà-é Aéchand azh Àtrō-Farnbag-é Farrokhŏzàtàn ó Fréh-Sraosh-é Vàhràm", meaning "Several Inquiries from Atrŏ-Farnbag-é Farrokhŏzàtàn and Fréh-Sraosh-é Vàhràm". In the first question put to the latter savant and his answer to it, it is clearly alluded that shortly before that question was put an intercalation had been made in Iran. As the work was compiled in 377 A. Y., it appears likely that it refers to the same event which is noted by Abul-Hasan Kushyar.

THE DOUBLE MODE OF INTERCALATION HAS CEASED SINCE 1006 A. C.

Thus in 1006 A. C. or 375 A. Y. both the ecclesiastic and civil years became exactly identical, and as no intercalation appears to have been made since then excepting once in the ecclesiastic year by the forebears of the Indian Parsis<sup>2</sup>, the distinction became extinct since then but for that difference of one month in the start of the year of the Zoroastrians in India and in Iran respectively.

This is translated into English by Ervad Tehmurasp's learned son Behramgore in a Bombay University Frize Essay not yet published.

<sup>2</sup> This we shall presently see.

## CONTINUITY OF THE ZARATHUSHTRIAN CALENDAR FROM ANCIENT EPOCHS

A very interesting paper by Dr. Louis Gray, the eminent Iranist, is contributed to Dastur Peshotan Memorial Volume<sup>1</sup> in 1904 A. C. on the subject of "Mediaeval Greek References to the Avestan Calendar". He quotes in it some Greek writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of Christ, who give interesting descriptions of the Persian calendar with which they had got acquainted in their time. Besides these, Dr. Gray mentions Quintus Curtius Rufus, a Latin historian of the first century of Christ, as having noted that the year of the Persians of his day had 365 days. That would show that the same calendar had continued in Iran in Parthian times from old and had passed on to the Sassanids, and has survived among us to the present day.

## MALEKSHAH'S REFORM WAS IN THE IRANIAN POLITICAL CALENDAR OF HIS TIME

The Greek writers quoted by Dr. Gray refer to quite a distinct reform in the Iranian calendar. They refer to the calendar as they found it in political Iran of their day. That political calendar was introduced 93 years after the Zarathushtrian reform of 1006 A.C. and was prepared under the direction of the enlightened Saljuki Monarch Jalal-ud-din Malekshah, the son of Alp Arsalan, in 1099 A.C. or 447 A.Y.

### AND WAS DISTINCT FROM THE REFORM OF 1006 A.C. IN THE ZARATHUSHTRIAN CALENDAR

According to the Greek writer Georgeos Chrysokokkes, quoted by Dr. Louis Gray, one Chioniades had found while in Persia about 1340 A.C. that the first New Year Day of the Malekshahi reformed calendar had fallen on March 13 in 1099 A.C.; whereas the Zarathushtrian New Year Day, counting bothways, from 1006 A.C. down and up back from now, fell in 1099 A.C. on February 20. So it is apparent that the Zarathushtrian calendar was not in the least affected by the Malekshahi reform, which was apparently introduced in the Saljukian state calendar based on the Zarthushtrian calendar, without influencing it, for introducing in

it the intercalation of one day every fourth year, and for rendering the New Year Day less aberrant. Indeed Chrysokokkes goes on to say according to Chionides that the Persian calendar of that time added a day to the year every fourth year to keep it correct to the seasons. Dr. M. B. Davar however shows in his pamphlet referred to above that although the old Pahlavi writings on the subject allude to the addition of a day every fourth year as becoming due, that was never followed in practice1, for actually the days were allowed to accumulate for 120 years when a month was added to the year or the five Gatha days transferred at the end of the following month from their old place as a formal token of intercalation. Another writer quoted by Dr. Gray, who was a Byzantine monk named Isaakos Argyros, said in about 1371 A. C. that in his time the Persian year began at midday on the New Moon of Fravardin. That would further show that there was also a Mahomedan adoption by that time.

THE REFORM OF 1006 A. C. WAS PROBABLY MADE UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF SHAH KABUS VASHMGIR OF TABARISTAN

We have seen above that the two types of intercalations were in vogue in Iran till 1006 A. C. The properly intercalated year was followed by the church and in it the Vernal Equinox fell somewhere about the first day of the first month Fravardin. The token intercalated year was followed in all civil affairs, and although in both the first month was Fravardin, in the civil year the first day of the first month Fravardin did not fall about the Vernal Equinox but preceded it by steadily increasing days as time went on.

All this should make it clear that Malekshah's reform was distinct from the Zarathushtrian intercalation of 1006 A. C. It was not improbable that, that Zarathushtrian intercalation was made under the patronage of the great Iranian monarch Kabus Vashingir of Tabaristan, as his house was a branch of the imperial house of Sassan and had apparently preserved Zarathushtrian practice in a very great measure. It would appear that the Zarathushtrian New Year Day was nearer the Vernal Equinox in 1006 A. C. than in 1099 A.C., for according to the calculation given in

<sup>1</sup> See his Gujerati jamihlet referred to alove, pp. 2-5.

the following paragraph the Zarathushtrian New Year Day fell on March 15 in 1006 A. C. and on February 20 in 1099 A. C.

THE NEW YEAR DAY OF THE IRANIAN ZOROASTRIANS IS A CORRECT CONTINUATION OF THE DAY OF YAZDAGARD SHAHRYAR'S

ACCESSION TO THE THRONE, WHICH WAS THE FIRST DAY OF THE FIRST MONTH FRAVARDIN

A number of Zarathushtrian and Christian parallel dates are given in Dr. Davar's Gujerati Paper on "The First Month of the Zarathushtrian Calendar" and in Dr. Louis Gray's paper on "Mediaeval Greek References to the Avestan Calendar" in Dastur Peshotan Memorial Volume, pp. 167-175. Excepting for slight slips in some cases, most of them agree in showing that the first day Hormazd of the first month Fravardin when the last Sassanian monarch Yazdagard Shahryar came to the throne fell on June 16 of the Christian year 632 according to the old system of calculation. Counting down from that date we should arrive at the result that the Zarathushtrian New Year Day would fall in 1944 A. C. on August 5, and that is exactly the Christian date corresponding to the New Year Day of the Irani Zoroastrians in 1944 A. C.

THE FIRST OF FRAVARDIN IN 1006 A.C. WAS NOT EXACTLY THE DAY OF THE VERNAL EQUINOX, BUT A DAY NEAR IT

It would therefore be evident that excepting for transfering the five Gatha days from the end of the eighth Zarathushtrian month Àban to the end of the twelfth month Spendarmad in 1006 A. C. when intercalations of four months had become due, the calendar had remained intact in every way. As noted above, the Zarathushtrian New Year Day fell on March 15 of that year. It is curious that the Arabic writer Abul Hasan Kushyar quoted by Dr. Davar in his paper, notes that the Iranian New Year Day in 375 A. Y. was the day of the Sun's entry into the first point of Aries! This however really took place on April 13 according to modern European astrology, as it always should. And as again, the seasonal year is one day short in the solar year in 68.426 years, the Vernal Equinox which falls on March 21 at present, must have fallen in 1006 on April 3.

It is therefore clear that March 15, 1006 A. C. was neither exactly the day of the Vernal Equinox nor the day of the Sun's

entry into the first point of Aries according to the present European science. That date however was nearer the day of the Vernal Equinox than the day of the Sun's entry into the first point of Aries.

THE LAST INTERCALATION BY INDIAN PARSIS MUST HAVE TAKEN
PLACE BETWEEN 1006 AND 1126 A.C. WHILE THEY WERE
STILL IN IRAN

There is not the slightest allusion anywhere to an intercalation in the Zarathushtrian calendar in Iran since 1006 A.C. As however the Indian Parsi calendar is one month behind the calendar of the Irani Zoroastrians who have preserved strict continuity of the ancient calendar as we have shown above, it is apparent that the Indian Parsis must have made an independent intercalation of one month in 1126 A.C. or during the interval between 1006 and 1126 A. C., if they did so in anticipation. As it is recorded in the history of Parsi immigration into India that they made an anticipatory intercalation of one month before they left Iran for India, that would show that the date of their immigration into India must have been somewhere between 1006 and 1126 A.C. It is not therefore probable that they adopted the four Iranian intercalations of 1006 A. C. and made one more themselves while they were in India. Had they done so, they should have followed this by at least one other intercalation in 1246 A. C., notwithstanding that as political upheavals overtook them in their happy Indian settlement also after 1246 A. C. further intercalations must have ceased since that time.

THE CYCLES IN ZARATHUSHTRIAN CALENDAR, THE LAST OF WHICH ENDED IN 1006 A.C.

It is clear from the facts noted above that in 1006 A. C. a cycle of 12 intercalations of one month each every 120 years was complete. So that cycle must have commenced 1440 years before 1006 A. C. or in 434 B. C. which was the 30th year of the sovereignty of the great Achaemenian Monarch Artaxerxes Longimanus. According to strict modern science the length of that cycle should be of 1518.12 years and not only of 1440, and that would take us back to 512 B. C. which was the tenth year of the sovereignty of the Grand Monarch Darius Hystaspes. As numerous reforms of

great imperial value were made under that Great King a reform under his command in the calendar also was quite possible; but as we have no evidence to show that that length was determined in any other way than by twelve one-monthly intercalations at intervals of 120 years each, we shall base our calculations roughly on that ground alone.

## PROBABLE DATE OF ZARATHUSHTRA IF THESE CYCLES STARTED IN HIS DAY

We are at present exactly in the year 2500 since the accession of Cyrus the Great; it is therefore clear that the cycle of 1440 years which ended in 1006 A. C. had nothing to do with the era of that Grand Monarch. So the cycle which had ended in 434 B. C. must have started in 1874 B. C. We have no record of any Iranian era having started in that year; but carrying the calculation backward and bearing in mind the notes of Greek writers of the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. and other evidences we have examined with care in one of a series of lectures we delivered under the auspices of the Rahnuma-é Mazdayasnan Sabha in the years 1932-33, the present year of Zarathushtra's era must be about  $1440 \times 5 + 938 = 8138$ , or rather the strict tropical year  $1518.12 \times 5 + 938 = 8528.6$ .

### PROBABLE DATE OF YIMA KHSHAETA OR JAMSHID IF THESE CYCLES STARTED IN HIS DAY

As however ancient tradition connects the foundation of the Iranian calendar with the reign of the great Peshdadian monarch Yima Khshaeta or Jamshid<sup>2</sup> as we know him in later form of his name, and as he is said to have ruled before, during and after the last glacial period in the Northern Hemisphere which culminated in it 12916 years ago, that era might probably have been founded at least about 1518.12×9=13663.08 years ago!

JAMSHID'S CALENDAR TOO WAS PROBABLY SEASONAL AND NOT SOLAR It must be noted however that Jamshid is reputed to have

<sup>1</sup> Published in 1934 with the title "પવિત્ર રાહળર જરશુકત્ર અને તેમના અપા ધર્મ" pp. 52-62, Fort Printing Press, Bombay.

It may be noted here that in our English Introduction to Vol. X of Ervads Kutar Brothers' Gujerati translation of the Shah Nama we have upheld the view that Jamshid represented an epoch in early human history and not simply the period of a single sovereign's Rule.

founded a solar calendar. If that were really the case our present calendar could not be a continuity of that very ancient calendar. But as we have shown above, the Iranians from the earliest times appear to have kept a seasonal year, and even the events in Jamshid's reign are calculated on years ending in winters; so that attribution to him seems to be erroneous and misapplied on assumptions from calculations of much later times.

THE OPPORTUNITY ARRIVES IN 1992 A. C. TO MAKE REFORM IN OUR CALENDAR AND TO REGULATE IT FOR ALL FUTURE

It has thus been seen all through the above that the correct Zarathushtrian year should start on the day of the Vernal Equinox which falls on March 21 at present. The return of the first day of Fravardin to March 21 in the Solar year will be in a very distant future; but a Hormazd Roz will fall on March 21 in the year 1992 A. C. and if the community agrees to change the month on March 21, 1992 A. C. and make that the 1st of Fravardin as our ancestors did in 1006 A. C., the continuity of the days of the month will remain undisturbed then and a correct seasonal year may be started from that day.

We have suggested above the mode of intercalation to keep the New Year Day as closely tied to the day of the Vernal Equinox as it may be possible to do so. If the reform is made in 1992 A.C. some such mode must be followed to keep it correct for all times. We have not discussed here whether the first month should be Daé or Fravardin and whether the intercalations should be of one month every 125 and 120 years as shown above or of one day every four years. Let that be settled now while we have sufficient time to do so.

As there are very few Zoroastrians in the Southern Hemisphere they too may follow our Calendar by adjustments of their seasons to the Calendar of the Northern Hemisphere, and start their year with the Autumnal Equinox which corresponds to the day of the Vernal Equinox in the Northern Hemisphere.

[Editor's Note: This paper was written by the learned author in September, 1944.]

### PARASIKAS<sup>1</sup>.

### By Dr. D. R. BHANDARKAR.

The Sanskrit name that comes closest to the modren Pārsī is Pārasīka which is mentioned along with foreign tribes both in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. Thus the Bhīshma-Parvan (IX. 65-66) has  $Yavan\bar{a}\dot{s} = Ch\bar{\imath}na\text{-}Kamb\bar{o}j\bar{a}$   $d\bar{a}run\bar{a}$   $Ml\bar{e}chchha$  $j\bar{a}tayah$   $Sakridgrah\bar{a}h$   $Kulatth\bar{a}\dot{s}=cha$   $H\bar{u}n\bar{a}h$   $P\bar{a}rasikaih$  saha. But the present form of the Mahābhārata cannot be assigned to any date earlier than c. 450 A. D., the time of Skandagupta, who is the first Indian prince that came into hostilities with the Hūnas. What is, however, most noteworthy is that in the passage from the Bhīshma-Parvan the Pārasīkas are mentioned side by side with the Hūṇas and Kāmbōjas. That reminds us of the world conquest of Raghu, described by Kālidāsa in the Raghuvamśa, Canto IV. vs. 60 and following. After exacting tribute from the King of Aparanta, that is after conquering the western sea-board, he made Mount Trikūṭa his column of victory. Raghu thereafter set out by land route (v. 60) to vanquish the Pārasīkas whose women are in verse 61 described as Yavanīs and who in the verse following are styled as Pāśchātyas (Westerners) whose army consisted of cavalry. A fierce battle took place between them and Raghu who speedily covered the earth with their bearded heads severed by his arrows so that the survivors put off their helmets and sought his protection. That was granted, and the soldiers of Raghu beguiled the fatigue of conquest with wine in vine-yards, being seated there on antelope skins. Now here we have to note in the first place, that the Pārasīkas have been called Yavaṇa. But as they had bearded heads, they could not have been the Greeks, whether in India or in Bactria, because not on a single coin of theirs they are shown with a bearded face. It thus seems that as early as Kālidāsa's time the term denoted 'a foreigner' and in this particular case a Pārasīka. The second point to note is that the Pārasīkas are represented to have put off their helmets as a token of sub-

<sup>1.</sup> In 1927 I wrote, somewhat hurriedly, "Parasika Dominion in Ancient India" which was published in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. VIII pp. 183 ff. This paper has been completely recast into the present article with different conclusions.

This is doubtless a reference to their custom of taking off their turbans, throwing them round their neck, and appearing as supplicants'. The third point to note is that they have been mentioned as essentially horsemen. And, as a matter of fact, one species of horses has been described as Pārasīka in the Amarakōśa. The main question, however, which we have to decide is: where are the Pārasīkas of the Raghuvamsa to be located? Were they in India or outside India? Now, after conquering the Pārasīkas, the Westerners, we are told, that Raghu marched against the northerners, that his horses refreshed themselves by rolling on the banks of the Sindhu and shaking off the saffron-filaments clinging to their manes and that there the Hūna queens, by lacerating their cheeks, testified to the valour of Raghu against their husbands. The celebrated commentator, Mallinātha, remarks that it was but natural that saffron-filaments should have stuck to Raghu's shoulders as Kashmir abounded with saffron plantations. It thus seems that Raghu inflicted his defeat on the Hūṇa king in Kāshmīr, through which flows the river Sindhu. Further, it is worthy of note that, after vanquishing the Hūṇas, Raghu, according to Kālidāsa, turned his arms against the Kambōjas, which, according to the late Sir Aurel Stein, denoted the eastern part of Afghanistan. It is thus clear that when Raghu defeated the Pārasīkas, the westerners, he had not crossed the Indus which he certainly would have had to do if Pārasīka had been Persia and that on the contrary the Pārasīka dominion must have been somewhere in India itself and to the south of Kashmir, the province occupied by the Hūṇas, the Northerners. In fact, Raghu does not seem to have marched west of India beyond Kambōja.

More than fifteen years ago Prof. Herzfeld had occasion to study two inscriptions, one found at Paikuli and the other at Persepolis. The tenor of the former is as follows: "A son of Hurmuz II (A.D. 302-309) and brother of Shapur II (A.D. 369-376), whose name was also Shapur, has the title 'Sakanshah', that is, the ruler of the whole Saka Empire, and 'dabiran dabir' (something like Head of the Civil Service) of Hind, Sakastan and Turkistan (which is possibbly meant for Tukharistan, that is, northern Afghanistan)."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1.</sup> I.A. Vol. XLVIII. 68.

<sup>2.</sup> An. Bhand. Ori. Res. Inst. Vol. VIII. p. 135.

Herzfeld seems to be right in his identification of Turkistan with Tukhāristān = North Afghānistān. Sakastān is obviously Sistan= South Afghānistān. And Hind seems to denote Sind. This is supported by the fact that Tabari (c. 1260 A. D.) speaks of Shapur II having built cities not only in Sagistan (Sistan) but also in Sind.1 This agrees with the fact that even in the time of Al Masudi (A. D. 916) there were fire-temples in Sind.<sup>2</sup> It is quite possible that the governors of the Sassanian dynasty after Hurmuz II enlarged the Pārasīka dominion in India. How else can we explain the find of coins, in North-west India, of Vāsudēva Chahman and Shahi Tigin? "These are found in N. W. india" says E. J. Rapson, the great numismatist of England, "coins of Sassanian type and fabric bearing inserr. in Nāgarī, Sassanian Pahlavi, and an alphabet, hitherto unread, which is probably a development of the modified form of the Greek alphabet used by the Scytho-Sassanians. These have been sometimes attributed to the later Hūṇas, but apparently without sufficient reason. They were almost certainly struck by some Sassanian dynasty or dynasties—as is shown by the style of the coins and by the use of the Sassanian Pahlavi—ruling over Sind and Multan, which the earliest Arab geographers include in the kingdom of Sind. For one of these issues, which has the name Srī Vāsudēva only in Nāgarī characters and all the remaining portion of its legends in Sassanian Pahlavi, an approximate date is fixed by its very near resemblance to a coinage issued by Khusru II Parvīz in the 37th year of his reign = 627 A. D." The Nāgarī legend referred to by Rapson consists of two parts, Śrī-Chahmana to right and the other Vāsudēva to left. There is another type of this king's coins, on the obverse of which the legend is in the Sassanian Pahlavi, and reads Saf Varsu Tef—Chahman Multan Malka, meaning Srī-Vāsudēva Chahmana, King of Multān. On the reverse we have Sri— $V\bar{a}sud\bar{e}va$ in Nagarī characters, and the Pahlavi legend:  $Tuh\bar{a}n$   $Z\bar{a}\ddot{u}last\bar{a}n$ Sapardalakshān. Sapardalakshān of course stands for Sapādalak-

<sup>1.</sup> Elliot's Hist. of Ind., Vol. I. p. 97.

<sup>2.</sup> Prairies d'Or, Vol. IV. p. 86.

<sup>3.</sup> Indian Coins. p. 30, para 109.

<sup>4.</sup> N. Chron. for 1894, p. 290.

<sup>5.</sup> Ibid. pp. 292-93; I. A., Vol. XL. p. 25.

sha, which is intimately associated with the Chāhamānas and the Chālukyas. Thus from inscriptions and early Muhammadan writers, we know that Sapādalaksha included Hānsī in the Punjāb, Ajmēr, Nāgaur and Maṇdōr in Mārwār and Mānḍalgaḍh in Mēwār, exactly the territory held by the Chāhamānas in Rājputānā. Similarly, the district of Dhārwār over which a line of Chālukyas ruled was known as Sapādalaksha as the author of the Pampa-Bhārata (c. 950 A. D.) informs us. Cunningham and others were therefore right in identifying Sapādalaksha with Rājputānā. But what about Tukan and Jāülistan? Jāülistan is taken to be identical with Jābulistān. But no scholar has been able to locate Jābulistān. From the Encyclopædia Britannica, however, we find only the name of Zabul as that of the province adjoining Ghazni. We shall perhaps not be far from right if we take Zābulistān as a province including not only Sistan but also Sind. This can easily make Multan as the capital of the territory held by Vāsudēva Chahmana. Tukan or Takan has similarly been identified with the Punjāb, but without any grounds being specified. But I have elsewhere pointed out that the ending an is here tautologous like that in Sapardalakshan. The true name therefore appears to be Tak = Takka, doubtless the name of the province between the Indus and the Beas known as early as the eighth century as Stein assures us in his translation of the Rājataranginī. Tukan, that is, Takkadēśa, thus becomes contiguous with the old Sapādalaksha.

We may thus take it that practically the whole of Sind, Kāṭhiāwār and Rājputānā was under the Sassanian rule, most probably from the third century A.D., and certainly from the time of Khusru II Parvīz, to the eleventh century uptil the time of Kulōttuṅga—Chōla. One inscription of this Chola king informs us that after having subdued the five Pāṇḍyas he placed a pillar, by the shore of the Ocean, on the holy peak of Sahyādri, commemorative of his conquest of the three worlds, and heard his fame sung from the other side of the ocean by the Pārasi young

<sup>1.</sup> Rice's Pampa-Bhārata (Bibliotheca Carnatica), Intro., p. 1.

<sup>2.</sup> I. A., Vol. XL., p. 29 & n. 17.

<sup>3.</sup> Vol. I. p. 205, n. 150.

men and women.1 This clearly shows that uptil the time of Kulōttunga, the land watered by the ocean beyond the holy peak of Sahyādri had been occupied by the kings of Pārasi or Sassanian extraction or by their governors and descendants. This reminds us of Raghu's expedition of conquest which says that he conquered the western sea-board along with the Sahyādri and after making Mount Trikūta his column of victory, proceeded northwards to conquer the Pārasīkas by the land-route, implying that by the sca-route also he could have invaded their territory, which, as we have seen above, was the western part of India intervening between the Sahyādri and Kāshmir which was then held by the Hūṇas. Now, the Sahyādri range begins at the Kundaibāri pass in the S.W. corner of Khāndēsh, over-looking the lower Tapti valley and running southward parallel with the sea coast from which its distance varies from 20 to 65 miles.<sup>2</sup> It was upto this point that the legendary Raghu and the historic Kulōttunga came to the peak of Sahyādri which in this region has an elevation of about 4,000 feet. The sea was approximately 25 miles from this point, and both the heroes could have proceeded northward to invade the Pārasīka dominion by the sea route from Bulsar or Surat or by the land route through the Dang passes to Khaira and Pālappur. The only district that abounds with grapes, deer and antelopes is the Hyderabad District (Sind).3 And it therefore seems that the battle of Raghu with the Pārasīkas must have come off somewhere in this district but on the east of the Indus. It further appears that the Chola emperor came to the northernmost point of the Sahya range which was nearest to the sea and which could not have been far from Bulsār or Surat from which the sea-board of Kāṭhiāwāṛ and Sind could have been seen, bounding the Pārasīka dominion on the south. It is wellknown that the Sassanian rule was upset by the battle of Nahavend in A.D. 641. Nevertheless, their governors who once ruled over the different parts of India, included in the Sassanian empire, such as the Chāhamānas, must have continued to exercise

<sup>1.</sup> E. I. Vol. V., p. 104, 11. 2-4, which have been somewhat mistranslated by Hultzsch.

<sup>2.</sup> Imp. Gazet., Vol. XII. pp. 217-18.

<sup>3.</sup> Ibid., Vol. XIII. pp. 312-13

sway over those provinces which therefore continued to be known as the Pārasi or Pārasīka country till the time of Kulōttuṅga. This is also proved by the copper-plate inscriptions of the early Chalukya family, which represent Vinayāditya to have made tributaries of the rulers of the island countries Kavēra, Pārasīka, Simhala and so forth after putting down the confederacy of Chōla, Kērala, Pāṇḍya and the lord of Kānchī.

The earliest mention of the Pārasīkas in literature is in the Raghu-vamša of Kālidāsa who has now been assigned to the first half of the fifth century. Pārasīkas have later been mentioned in the Gaüda-vaho of Vākpati and the Mudrārākshasa of Viśākhadatta. Vākpati flourished under Yaśōvarman of Kanauj about the end of the seventh century.<sup>2</sup> The date of Viśākhadatta is not so well-known, but he is taken to have lived not later than the eighth century.3 The latter in Act V of his drama speaks of the Pārasīka ruler along with those of Kulūta, Malaya, Kāśmīra and Sindhu.<sup>4</sup> But this does not carry us much forward. Vākpati, it is true, describes the world conquest of his patron. But his description is as slovenly and untidy as that of Kalidāsa is informative and consistent. Thus Vākpati describes Yasovarman first to have arrived on that shore of the sea which is near the Goa territory, from there to have marched upon the Pārasikas, then to have levied tribute in the regions of the Western Ghauts, then to have come to the banks of the Narmadā, and so forth. In other words, Yaśōvarman is represented to have gone up on the western sea board once from the south to the north, then from the north to the south, from where again to the north, and so on. This arouses the suspicion whether Yaśōvarman had really undertaken a systematic expedition of conquest in South India, or whether Vākpati was well conversant with the geography of India as Kālidās doubtless was. Anyhow this much is clear enough that the Pārasīkas were situated much to the north of the Western Ghauts and the Narmadā.

<sup>1.</sup> E. I., Vol. V., p. 203; Vol. IX. pp. 203 & 205; Vol. X. p. 16.

<sup>2.</sup> C. Mabel Duff's The Chronology of India, p. 58.

<sup>3.</sup> K. T. Telang's Mudrārākshasa (B. S. S.), Intro. p. XXIV.

<sup>4.</sup> Ibid., p. 204.

<sup>5.</sup> S. P. Pandit's Gaudavaho, Intro. pp. XXVI-XXVII.

There can be no reasonable doubt, says the late Mr.M. P. Khareghat, that the word Pārasīka means Persian. The whole word including the suffix with the long vowel would seem to be Iranian, Pārasīk being the Pahlavi term for an inhabitant of Pars, that is, the ancient Persis or modern Fars. The word seems too have come into use in India only after the restoration of Persian power under the Sassanians in the third century after Christ. It is therefore no wonder that it was first used by Kālidāsa about the beginning of the fifth century. It is quite clear, from a critical study of the Raghuvainsa, Canto IV vs 59ff, that the Pārasīkas in his time had a kingdom of their own in the western part of India, situated between the Sahyādri and Kāshmīr and comprising Sind, Kāthiāwār and at least Western Rājputānā. This agrees with the inference based by Prof. Herzfeld on the ground of the Paikuli inscription that the Sassanian empire from c. 350 A.D. embraced Turkistan (=Tukhāristan), i.e. North Afghanistan, Sakastan (=Sistan) and Hind (=Sind). It is therefore not at all surprising that there were fire-temples in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D., not only in Sistan but also in Sind, as the Arab historians inform us. The Pārsi religion must therefore have spread in this country with the establishment of the Sassanian power over the western part of India. Just as with the virulent growth of Muhammadanism most of the natives of Iran became Muhammadans but a few remained Pārsis, so with the destruction of Sassanian power in A.D. 641 most of the Pārsis in India may have become Hindus, but certainly a few must have continued to remain Pārsis and preserve their religion. To say therefore that the Parsis came to India as a band of Iranian refugees who landed at or near Sanjan about A.D. 697 is opposed to all progress of knowledge caused by a critical study of epigraphy and literature. As the late Sir Richard Temple has remarked, "it is more than interesting to find that the traditional date of 716 A.D. for the landing of the first Parsi refugees from Muslim tyranny at Sanjan (the St. John of Lord and other early English writers in India) and of 1475 A.D. for the beginning of the holy fire to the parsi temple at Navsāri are on a par

<sup>1.</sup> S. K. Hodivala's Parsis of Ancient India, Preface, p. iii.

with 4004 B. C. for the date of Adam in the annotated Bible still in my possession from the time when I was a small boy, and won "the Bible Prize", because I could remember such dates better than the other little boys in a typically Mid-Victorian School."

As, according to the Paikuli inscription, the Sassanian Empire included North Afghānistān, Sistān and Sind from c. 350 A. D. onwards, it is natural that Z or oastrianism should spread into India. We have already noted from the accounts of the Arab historians that there were fire places not only in Sistan but also in Sind. As early as 1911 I pointed out on the authority of the Bhavishya-Purāṇa that the Maga Brāhmaṇs who were descended from Jaraśasta were brought from Sākadvīpa into India by Krishna's son, Sāmba, who was suffering from white leprosy, and put in charge of the worship of Sūrya (Sun) which he had constructed on the river Chandrabhāgā. These Magas, we are told, wore round their waist what is called an avyanga. A little reflection will tell us that these Magas were no other than the Magi of old Persia, who were the priestly class there. Again, the name of their originator was Jarasasta, which bears a close correspondence in sound to Jaratusta (Zoroaster). Similarly, avyanga is the Indian form of the Avesta word Aiwyāōnghan. Further, Chandrabhāgā is a name of the river Chenab, and the temple was built at Multan, one name of which is Sāmbapura. And we have seen more than once that Multan was the capital of Chahman, Vāsudēva, a governor of the Indo-Sassanian or Pārasīka dominion in India. The subject of the Magas, says the late Mr. M. P. Khareghat, may be closed with the mention of a peculiar circumstance noted by Al Bērūni in his book of India that the festival in honour of the sun used to be celebrated in Multan by his worshippers by a year of exactly 365 days.<sup>3</sup> "Such a year is not generally employed in India, but it has been commonly used throughout Iranian lands and Central Asia, having been probably introduced from Egypt by Darius in his later years or Xerxes. It is another indication of the place whence the worship of the sun was imported."4

<sup>1.</sup> I. A., Vol. LI. p. 244.

<sup>2.</sup> Ibid., Vol. XL. p. 18 & n. 36.

<sup>3.</sup> Sachau's Alberuni's India, Vol. II. p. 184.

<sup>4.</sup> S. K. Hodivala's Parsis of Ancient India, Preface, p. xi.

### ETHICS OF THE NOBLEST SOCIAL SERVICE.

By Prof. N. K. Bhagwat, M. A.

#### Introduction:

The subject, which I have selected, for my humble contribution to the Memorial Volume of Mr. M. P. Khareghat, is to my mind particularly suitable when I read the life-sketch of that great Personality. His versatile genius, as attested by his mastery over a number of languages, his brilliant career of a scholar, his life of action and service to Government, his scholarship, his eminent guidance to the Parsi Punchayet and his wonderful qualities of head and heart mark him out as justly fitted for a Commemoration Volume. In him, we discover a fully-blossomed human mind, that has shown marvellous stages of growth and expansion so as to rise to great heights and if such a mind were to be properly analysed and assessed, it may yield interesting results from the point of view of a Psychologist and an Ethical thinker. Such super-minds, by their selfless devotion to duty and breadth of vision, leave behind "surer footprints on the sands of Time". My first adoration, therefore, to one of such minds-Mr. Khareghat.

#### MODERN SOCIETY:

Having thus realised that Mr. Khareghat was an inspiration and impetus to others to move towards a life of active service and beneficence to those, standing in need of such service, we propose to go rather deep into this question of Life of Service to others and first turn to inquire in detail about Social Service and its ethical foundation. This enquiry first leads us to speak of the nature of modern Society, to which man belongs as a unit. What is a Society? Who is a Social Worker? Why does the Society stand in need of a Social Worker and what kind of work does such Society expect of him? —these and similar questions come prominently before us, as we begin to handle this subject. Students of Social Sciences and Sociology in general have shown the origin of Society and how it passes through well-defined and consistent stages in its evolution—from its old self-contained life of pre-mechanical village community to its most modern form due to mechani-

cal civilization. This passage of time has made humanity progress in virtue of a law of Nature. From the old Vedic Civilization to the Modern Civilization there have been Periods which may be those of progress or decadence. "Old is gold" is one extreme and it speaks of nothing but a superstitious belief in the excellence and perfection of the Past and the Antiquity. In the West, philosophers, modern thinkers and scientists hold very divergent views on this question of Progress. Westerners like Greeks and Romans, writers of the Middle Ages, thinkers like Rousseau, Goethe and Nietzsche have their own theories about the progress and decadence of Society during the Dark Ages, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the 17th & the 18th Centuries. Fatalists had disappeared and 'self-determination of the human Will' was regarded as the sign of perfection. In the jargon of discordant views and speculations about the progress of Society, it was believed that at first man knew nothing of his rising from insignificant beginnings to more and more elevated heights. He had no knowledge of the marvellous destiny reserved for him; but a moment arrived when the knowledge of the path he was treading attacked his consciousness, and from that moment, instinctive striving began to be transformed into conscious and purposive action. He cherished hopes of being able to control the movement of his own progress. But this control has not as yet been achieved. "His Progress towards a higher state need not be feared of a check, but must continue till the very last existence of history" (Herschel). Leaving aside various viewpoints, advocated by different scholars of Social Sciences, one fact has got to be borne in mind, namely, that human Society like any organism is in a continual state of flux and that it is moving and changing itself and that too every moment. There is no being, but becoming. Thus moving on and on, man has accumulated experience which has its own value in prophesying that man is heading towards perfection and final development. With this prospect, however, and with all the wonderful discoveries and man's success in controlling and dominating forces of Nature, the question still remains whether the present-day Society, has by its materialistic advance, succeeded in attaining real "spiritual freedom", overcoming the obstacles that bar the

very happiness of man, and that whether man, with the help outside mighty forces and big industrial revolutions, of has succeeded in realising human relations, rights and duties, common goals and aspirations and ambitions and his cherished dreams of a 'Paradise on Earth.' What is the picture of Modern Society? The age of competition has created a great stir and ferment, the old family-life has become extinct. Mechanical civilization has brought in evils, which have culminated in destroying the best and the noblest in man. It has drained the rural population and concentrated it in large towns and where people are herded together under conditions, which are hateful to any kind of human well-being. The result of all this has been deterioration in the spiritual values. Man is condemned to a troubled and stunted existence "which will fill even a savage with horror". The last world war brought on a ghastly revelation. It seemed to shake the very foundations upon which our life had been built up. Obviously there was something profoundly wrong in the whole structure of the present life, something which called urgently for remedy. What was needed was an endeavour to find some surer standard of life for the future, in the light of which civilization might be re-fashioned and re-ordered. Has this need been done? No. The second world-war has proved that the same evils that brought on the first world-war are still roaming large and Society and its unit 'man' are horribly suffering politically, socially, intellectually and morally so that the old poet may still complain "What man has made of Man"! There is no chance of self-expression and selfdevelopment. A Social Worker is needed, therefore, who will create an atmosphere, in which human consciousness will find ample scope for its growth and expansion and who will emphasise on universal ideal of the absolute and unqualified human brotherhood and equality. There ought not to be any room for pessimism on this score. This brings us face to face with the question of the "Ethics of Social Service". The word 'Ethics', which we propose to employ in this Paper, means the explanation of the phenomena of the mind, which from its self-seeking, rises higher and higher till, completely eliminating the idea of self, identifies itself with what is selfless, and it is thus calculated to bring consolation, assurance, and hope to those of our brethren, who stand in need of

these essentials of an all-sided development of Personality. We, therefore, first turn to human mind.

#### MIND:

Indian Philosopers have dived deep into the working of human mind by analysing mental phenomena with the processes of thought and their action and reaction on the conduct of the individual, as exhibited in his personal dealings and conduct with others. This dual conduct is governed by motives or actuating force and has bearing on a very restricted sphere of action, which is nothing but self. The thinking, feeling and willing, therefore, is essentially turbid, being tinctured by narrow and selfish considerations, clannish outlook, self-sufficiency, egoism, disregard and utter heedlessness of any consideration for another, beside self. The avenues of actions and the gates through which they are transmitted have also been exhaustively studied, and thus the psychological phenomena are explained in terms of Ethics and the ultimate ideal is set forth as purging off the accidental, non-essential, ephemeral, temporary and compounded and building instead what is non-accidental, essential, abiding, permanent and an absolute element. The difference between good and bad, just and unjust, perfect and imperfect, changeable and unchangeable, coditioned and unconditioned, personal and impersonal, has been clearly exemplified and thus a broad ideal of universal application and yielding results or conclusions, universally noticeable, have been put into systematic and scientific form.

It is in the light of this presentation that we propose to discuss the Ethics of the noblest Social Service. Mind has been defined as that which is aware of its object; and the object of consciousness may be the object of sense or object of thought. This consciousness is divided into units or Dharma (States) and they have been sub-divided into eighty nine types and termed as Meritorious, Demeritorious and Intermediate (i. e. neither Meritorious nor Demeritorious.) These units are sprung up from three roots (causes)—Cupidity (Lobha); Ill-will (Dosa) and Stupidity (Moha) in the case of Demeritorious and their opposites in the case of Meritorious ones. The units of consciousness (Cittāni) are naturally self-inspired or tutored by others. These exhibit them-

selves through the sense-organs and are primarily and certainly not good. There are altogether twelve sorts of this type of consciousness. These are demonstrated in human conduct in various properties like dullness and deception, impudence, shamelessness, distraction, greed, heresy, conceit, hate, envy, jealousy, worry, sloth, torpor and perplexity. These mental properties are thus found to be nothing but depravities and deformities, which go to warp the human mind. When these warpings are found in various minds they represent the temper and tone of that Group or Society, wherein they are discovered. For, what is after all a Society, but groups of individuals, who come together and live together, share in the same aspirations, inclinations and predilections, their center of consciousness being 'self' (attā). These minds are thus covered with moral stains and smuts. These units of Society, human beings with their mental complex, thus depraved, get into various habits, which are reflected in their nature and consequent behaviour and actions. In performing actions, they have only one central theme of consciousness, selfgratification. The whole complex of the mind becomes one pandemonium and, unless there is correction or cure, it becomes the characteristic feature of such groups, tribes, Societies, races and peoples. They go on fighting, as if it is their birthright and during the infancy of the world, one could see that the State of Nature was the State of War. Lust, malevolence and self-blindness and the consequent infatuation generally produce dogmatism, a desire to become despot and to subordinate or degrade the individual to the service of self and all the resources are utilised for this one purpose of self, and goes by a roseate name of 'Nationalism'—'Racial Superiority', a very narrow ideal indeed! The sense-organs of such people are also so  $ane \epsilon d$  as to see nothing, hear nothing, taste nothing, smell nothing, touch nothing and think of nothing, except that which would satisfy this despotism of self. There is a sort of wild fanaticism in all this life, and all the thinking and feeling is so moulded as to subserve this Aaron's Rod. There is no will of the individual, since all this will to initiate an act, will to do, and consequent passions, emotions and affections are absolutely destroyed and the man is reduced to a mere automaton. This description of the immoral types of consciousness

and the consequent feelings, however, constitute one phase of human mind. There is another phase of human mind—the moral one or the meritorious one (Kusala), which ultimately must be the normal, the natural order of things, the perfected, the just, the equitable, the complex and the phenomena of the human mind. The units of good consciousness spring from three root causes—Absence of cupidity, (Alobha); Absence of Ill-will (Adosa) and Absence of Infatuation (Amoha). They (units) are either self-inspired or the result of education, training and environments. They exhibit themselves through the sense-organs and are positively good; they may be styled as 'good' and are reflected in the following mental properties (feeling), which we style as 'morally beautiful'. They are enumerated as follows:— faith, mindfulness, prudence, shame, self-sacrificing spirit, goodwill, balance of mind, calmness of psychic factors buoyancy of the psychic factors, buoyancy of mind, pliancy of psychic factors, pliancy of mind, fitness of work of the psychic factors, fitness of work of mind, proficiency of the psychic factors, proficiency of mind, rectitude of the psychic factors and rectitude of mind. Thus in the case of 'good consciousness', the subject is fully awake and mindful, calm and buoyant, pliant, fit for work. proficient and right-mind $\epsilon$ d. These states of consciousness aim at self-development, self-expression and self-consummation.

Having thus classified these two types of consciousness with their essential mental properties the wrong and the right—the bad and the good, it so happens that there is a constant conflict going on between them. When the conflict begins, Ethical science makes its appearance; for Ethics is the Science of Conduct, which displays itself in either good or bad, or selfish or unselfish, self-seeking or seeking others as well, or seeking the good of all the universe, with the entire elimination of self. This migration must be from the wrong to the right, from the unjust to the just, from the individual to the universe, from the thought of only one's own good to the altruistic thought of serving others, with a view to effect their well-being or weal. Social service, in its ultimate form, is ethical in this sense. What then are the stages before this highest expression of human mind takes its form as a habit, nature, essential characteristic, pronounced conduct or behaviour, in fine, one's ultimate destiny?

STAGES OF THIS HIGHEST CONSUMMATION:

Great thinkers and philosophers have studied this question in reference to the working of the primitive mind and its final evolution so as to embrace the universe as a whole. The mind, which is warped by taints or dominant desire of self-gratification, has got to be purified, and cleansed by the removal of its spots, and the venue of those root-causes must be entirely changed to their opposites. The first stage is 'the washing process.' Just as a smith by putting a metal into the furnace removes its ashes by blowing, similarly the depravities of the mind, as evinced in the selfish greed or hatred or stupidity, must be gradually removed by study, practice, company of the teacher, suitable environments, like family-traditions and thus the consciousness must be purified and its turbidity and violence must entirely disappear. For this purpose simple rules of conduct or a sort of ethical code of simple behaviour have got to be observed as a discipline and a training. This becomes very easy, when you develop a spirit of learning, with the cultivation of faith and many a time, even a blindfollowing, in its initial stages. With the help of this and a study of the real character of the defilements of the mind, there is reached a second stage, where the turbulence of the mind is substituted by the removal of narrow limitations or outlook and the consequent intensely coloured feelings and emotions and instincts. They give place to sanity, stability, serenity, clearness of vision and the consequent purity and disillusionment; and this transformation makes the mind move in a free and enlarged atmosphere, where true meanings, implications and pith of apparently deceptive or complex things, are brought home to the mind and a feeling of joy arises. This joy gives rise to zest, which gives the body a kind of repose, a satisfaction, peaceful placedity, pliancy, and softening of the spirit. Out of this comes out the third stage, when the mind lapses into concentration and unification. There are various stages through which this concentration passes and the whole mental complex is radically transformed. All varied and vagrant thoughts, sallies of wit, probings, elevations and depressions of human mind, are harmonised, pacified and unified, so that the mind can rise and move in higher

and higher spheres, without being affected by the physical sphere and these spheres make the mind firm and steady in a suitable plane of higher consciousness and study the life's problems of profound import as also those, affecting the life of the universe and its countless ramifications. This state of mind contributes to the unfoldment of the secrets of nature and undiscovered laws physical, psychological, moral and intellectual—that exist and operate in this universe. This unfoldment of knowledge is the last stage and is variously described in its most idealistic form as 'spiritual realisation', 'illumination', 'divine experience' or 'supreme enlightenment'. We are, however, concerned here with the fact that the knowledge of the relations between man and man, and man and creation, becomes possible to a mind, that passes through the abovementioned stages. Thoughts, feelings, emotions, affections and predispositions, are thus given the widest scope for expansion, development and those minds, wherein these find their highest expression, are not fettered by any considerations of the self or the individual. They rise far above limitations of space and time and their essential nature takes the form of blossoming forth into universal feelings. The latter are mentioned as being four and are described as 'the most exalted states'— Universal Love, Universal Compassion, Universal Rejoicing and Universal Equibalance of the mind. Minds filled with such universal feelings are eminently fitted for the noblest service to others. There is discovered in them complete self-effacement. They have moved from the self to the selfless. They are the most disinterested and causeless friends of mankind! The world has pronounced such friends and benefactors and they have been called 'Prophets', and their teachings have been universal and have aimed at making men serve the cause of, not only of human beings, but of the entire creation, as the ultimate destiny of such Prophets. If we could apply their teachings to the smaller problems of satisfying social needs, that becomes Ethics of the Highest Social Service'. Study the lives of the greatest teachers of the universe like Krishna, The Buddha, Christ, Zoroaster Mahommad, Nanak, Ramakrishna--Vivekananda, Bāhāullah and others; and they teach you that the ethics behind them was nothing but the complete elimination of self out of their love for service

to humanity and entire creation. The Budhha renounced his claim to the attainment of perfect bliss, so long as there was a single person, suffering in this universe and Christ allowed himself to be crucified out of love for the redemption of humanity. These are facts. The Budhha, for instance, expressed himself thus: "The Tathāgata (The Budhha) has come unto the world to befriend the poor, to succour the unprotected, to nourish those in bodily affliction, both the followers of the dharma and unbelievers, to give sight to the blind and enlighten the minds of the deluded, to stand up for the rights of orphans as well as the aged and in so doing to set an example to others. This is the consummation of his work and thus he attains the great goal of life as the rivers that lose themselves in the ocean". (The Gospel of Budhha, by Paul Carus p. 190).

#### Conclusion:

In conclusion, with this explanation of the life of the highest service, exhibited in the case of the greatest minds, mentioned above, if we apply the same test in the case of a great individual, like Mr. Khareghat, and evaluate the work, turned out by him, can we not get the same explanation of the Universal Law of mind and its working? Compare the flood of light that illumines the universe, with this dim flicker of light, lighting a small cottage, or a sudden spark, radiating the surrounding area for a twinkle of the eye, and you get the same explanation of the physical laws of Nature. Mr. Khareghat may be similarly compared with the spark of light in that infinite and eternal light and the same explanation can be given of the work, accomplished by him with the help of his developed mind which impelled him to go in for that selfless work, for the betterment of his people, and which constitutes, in his case, the ethics of his social service. He exerted himself during the short span of life, and rose far above the self and aimed at doing good to those who stood in need of it. The spring of action was not to aim at any selfish gain, power or pelf, but supreme satisfaction of having done his duty in a spirit of self-sacrifice and without any egoistic consciousness. Can we not then say that such a Personality is an inspiration to others to work and an ideal to follow?

## THE EXTENT OF THE SASSANIAN POLITICAL DOMINATION IN INDIA.

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The history of India during the 3rd century A. D. is still shrouded in considerable mystery. Great events like the downfall of the Sātavāhana power in the Deccan and the crumbling of the Kushāṇa Empire in the North occured in it, but their precise causes are unknown. Smith has observed, 'The two great dynasties, the Kushāṇa in northern India and the Andhra in the tableland of the Deccan disappear almost together at the moment (A.D. 226) when the Arsakidan dynasty of Persia was superseded by the Sassanian. It is impossible to avoid hazarding the conjecture that the three events may have been in some way connected, and that the Persianising of the Kushāṇa coinage of northern India should be explained by the occurrence of a Persian invasion, such as that mentioned by Ferishta as having occurred during the reign of the first Sassanian king.''

Dr. K. P. Jayaswal explains the political history in a different way. He maintains that the Bhāraśivas drove out the Kushānas beyond Sirhind in c. 220 A. D. Later on 'the Kushānas were so pressed by the Bhāraśivas that they ultimately sought the protection of the Sassanian Emperor Shapur between 238 and 269 A. D, whose effigy they had to stamp on their coins.2'

During the period 304-332 A. D. the Western Kshatrapas of Gujrat and Kathiawar ceased to take the imperial title Mahākshatrapa and were content with the feudatory title Kshatrapa. Prof. H. C. Raychaudhari states that 'it is precisely during this period when the old line passed away in obscurity and the office of the Mahākshatrapa remained in abeyance that we find Sakasthāna, a portion of Hind, annexed to the Sassanian empire and dominated by the Sassanian viceroys. The Sassanian conquest began before the reign of Varhran II (A. D. 293) and the Sassanian sovereignty maintained till the early part of the reign of

<sup>1.</sup> E. H. I. (4th Ed.) p. 289.

<sup>2.</sup> History of India, p. 50.

Shapur II (A. D. 307-379). The hold of the Persians on the distant Indian provinces became weak in the middle of the 4th century A. D., when Rudrasena III assumed the title of Mahārāja and Samudragupta.....forced the foreign potentates of the north-west borderland to do him homage'.

According to the above views, the downfall of the Kushāṇa empire was due to the Sassanian invasion or to the Bharaśiva revival forcing the Kushāṇas to seek the Sassanian protection. The greater part of the Punjab was under the Sassanian supremacy. Seistan and Sindh also passed under the direct rule of the Sassanians and they succeeded in imposing their overlordship over the Western Kshatrapas of Gujrat and Kathiawar also during the first half of the 4th century. We now propose to examine how far these views are tenable.

The downfall of the Kushāṇa empire was due to several causes. Usually Indian empires begin to decline after about 200 years, and the Kushāṇa power was no exception. It began to decline by the end of the 2nd century and the first decisive blow was inflicted by the Yaudheyas, who rose in rebellion in c. 200 A. D. and established their supremacy over their homelands; stretching from Bhawalpur to Saharanpur and Ludhiyana to Delhi. The Kushāṇas were driven beyond the Beas, but their rulers, Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II, continued to hold sway over Baktria, Afghanistan and Western and Central Punjab.

A tribe named Jouan attacked the Kushāṇas in c. 230 A. D. and their power was considerably weakened while fighting with them. They had already lost their rich Indian provinces which used to replenish their treasury. Ardeshir I took advantage of the situation and succeeded in establishing his supremacy over Baktria in c. 235 A. D. He started the practice of sending the crown-prince as governor over the new province, as was often done by the Achaemenians also five hundred years earlier. The crown-princes so deputed had the privilege of issuing their own coins with the title Kushān Shāh, the king of the Kushāṇas. From 252 A. D. onwards this title was changed into Kushān Shahān Shāh, 'the king of the kings of the Kushāṇas.'

<sup>1.</sup> Ray Chaudhari: Political History of Ancient India, (4th Ed.), p. 428.

<sup>2.</sup> Herzfeld, The Kushano-Sassanian Coinage, p.33.

That the Kushāṇa prince overthrown by the Sassanians was Vāsudeva II is made fairly certain by the evidence of the Kushāno-Sassanian coinage, which was issued by the royal governors of Bactria. The coins of this series have on the reverse the Śiva and the Bull, which was the only type issued by Vāsudeva II, and which is known to have been current in Bactria. Following the usual practice of conquerors in ancient India and Bactria, the Sassanians imitated the coinage of the king whom they supplanted. He must, therefore, have been Vāsudeva II and none else.

#### THE PERIOD OF SASSANIAN ASCENDANCY

The Kushano-Sassanian coins¹ issued by the Sassanian viceroys were current only in Balkh, Marwa and Samarkand; they are not to be found in Afghanistan, Seistan or the Punjab. It is, therefore, clear that for sometime the Sassanians were content to occupy only the home provinces of the Kushāṇas. Their titles on the coins, 'the king of the Kushāṇas' and 'the king of kings of the Kushāṇas' would further indicate that the Sassanians did not drive the Kushāṇas out of Bactria but only established their supremacy over that province Very probably some Kushāṇa chiefs continued to rule as their feudatories.

The conquest of further provinces of India was attempted and accomplished by the Sassanian emperor Varahran II. This ruler succeeded in annexing Afghanistan, North Western Frontier Province, Seistan and Sindh to the Sassanian empire by c. 284 A.D. Varahran II now transferred the Crown Prince Varahran III to Seistan as its Governor with the privilege of issuing coins with the title Śakān Shāh, the king of the Śakas. We can understand the significance of the title of the Crown-Prince when we remember that Śaka chiefs were in power in Sindh and Seistan for about two hundred years. The Punjab was not conquered by the Sassanians; their coins are not generally found in that province, as they are in Sindh and Afghanistan.

<sup>1.</sup> These coins are called Kushano-Sassanian because the obverse is in imitation of the Sassanian coins and the reverse of the Scythian, i.e. Kushāna coins. Cunningham had described them as Scytho-Sassanian, but Kushano-Sassanian is a more accurate term.

Afghanistan and the Indus valley continued to be under the Sassanian rule for about 80 years down to c. 360 A. D. There were frequent wars of succession during this period and, therefore, it was at one time thought that the Sassanian rule in the Indus valley must have been very short lived. Inscriptions recently discovered at Persepolis show, however, that even in 310-2 A.D., when the reigning Sassanian emperor Shapur II was only a baby, his elder brother continued to rule Seistan enjoying the titles, King of Śakastān, Minister of Ministers of Sindh, Śakastān and Tukharistan. The Sassanian rule in these regions was well established and organised; for the Persepolis inscription discovered by Herzfeld refers to a high Judge at Kabul and a Minster of Public Instruction in Śakastān (Sakastān and arzpet)<sup>1</sup>.

We must, however, note that during the period of Sassanian ascendancy in Afghanistan and the Indus valley, some Śaka and Kushāṇa chiefs continued to rule as petty feudatories. Thus there was a feudatory Kushāṇa family ruling at Kabul; for the wife of the Sassanian emperor Hormuzd II (303-309 A. D.) was a Kushāṇa princess belonging to that family. It is quite possible that there may have been other Kushāṇa and Śaka feudatories in the Indus valley as well. We must, however, note that the Sassanian dominions in the northwest did not extend beyond the Jhelum. In the Punjab proper a number of Scythian chiefs were ruling, whose families were known as Shaka, Śilada and Gadahara. Their coinage shows no Sassanian influence whatsoever and we may, therefore, well conclude that they were not subjugated by the Sassanians.

#### THE KIDARA KUSHANAS.

The rule of the Shakas and the Śīladas came to an end in c. 340 A. D. with the rise of tribe which is described sometimes as the Little Kushāna and sometimes as Kidāra Kushāna. Its chief Kidāra, whose capital was at Peshawar, was originally a feudatory of the Sassanians, who were then supreme in Afghanistan

<sup>1.</sup> Herzfeld, Kushano-Sassanian Coins, pp 35-6.

and the Indus valley, as shown already. On his early coins, the bust of Kidāra is seen facing right, a convention which had to be followed by all the feudatorics of the Sassanian empire. In course of time, however, Kidāra conquered Kashmir and the Central Punjab. He now felt himself strong enough to assume independence and began to issue coins with the bust facing to the front, which was the privilege of the Sassanian emperor only. This step, probably taken in c. 355 A.D., evoked imperial anger and reprisal. We find Shapur II encamped at Kabul in 356-7 A.D. and pursuing operations against his rebellious feudatory. He was successful in this venture; Kidāra was compelled to acknowledge his suzerainty. We find him sending assistance to his liege lord in 350 A.D. when he was engaged in his Mesopotamian campaign.

The closer association with the imperial army probably enabled Kidāra to realise its weak points and he began to mature plans of reasserting his independence. He secured the goodwill of Samudragupta, who had by this time extended his sphere of influence to the Punjab, by sending him presents along with professions of allegiance, and delivered his blows against Shapur II in 367-8 A.D. Kidāra was successful in his undertaking; he annihilated one Sassanian army and drove away another, though it was being led by Shapur himself. These victories enabled Kidāra to consolidate his power in Gandhāra, Kashmir and the Western and Central Punjab. He appointed a number of Satrapas to rule these provinces. Varo Shahi, Piroch and Buddhabala were three among them, their names are preserved on coins.4

Kidāra was succeeded by his son Piro in c. 375 A. D. He must have naturally attempted to extend his power further  $\epsilon$  astward in the Punjab when the strong arm of Samudragupta

<sup>1.</sup> Cunningham had placed Kidāra in c 425 A.D. (Later Indo Scythians, p. 185), but Major Martin has now adduced fairly conclusive numismatic evidence to show that this chief must have flourished about a century carlier See Numismatic Supplement No. XLVII, pp 30 ff.

<sup>2.</sup> The Puranan mention a Mlechchha king as ruling over these territories contemporaneously with the early Guptas. He will be the Kidara ruler.

<sup>3.</sup> Numismatic Supplement, XLVII, p. 31.

<sup>4.</sup> Numismatic Supplement, XLVII, II. 41-2.

was removed by death at about this time. To check this growing menace, Rāmagupta, the successor of Samudragupta, undertook an expedition against him in the Punjab, but was signally defeated and compelled to conclude an ignoble peace, requiring the surrender of the Gupta crowned queen. A glance at the features of Piro shows that he was a cruel and lascivious ruler, who could well have imposed the above condition on his vanquished adversary.<sup>1</sup>

The success of Piro was, however, short-lived. Shapur III (385-88 A. D.) took steps to avenge the defeat inflicted upon his predecessor and broke his power. He was compelled to acknowledge the Sassanian suzerainty and issue coins as a feudatory, with the bust facing to right instead of facing to front. Chandragupta II also seems to have hammered Piro from the east; we, however, do not know whether his attack was before or after the defeat inflicted by Shapur III. The Gupta armies seem to have pursued him right up to the Indus.

Under Shapur III also, the western boundary of the Sassanian empire was not extended beyond the Indus. In the Punjab proper, we get no traces of any Sassanian influence. We must, however, remember that Afghanistan, Baluchistan and Sindh formed part of India in these days, and so it can be truly said that the Sassanians had extended their sway over some of the Indian provinces.

Prof. Raychoudhari suggests, though he does not actually say so, that the cause of the Western Kshatrapas remaining content with the feudatory title Kshatrapa during the period c. 04-340 A.D. was the Sassanian domination. There is, however, no evidence to show that at c. 304, the Sassanians had proceeded from their base in Sindh and brought Gujrat and Kathiawar under their sway after defeating their Saka rulers, who were compelled to renounce their imperial title Mahākshatrapa. The Paikuli inscription no doubt states that the rulers of Avanti and Kathiawar recognised the title of Narseh, but they are expressly described as independent princes. The Saka Mahākshatrapa Bhartridāman (282-304 A.D.) did not take sides in the war

<sup>1.</sup> Numismatic Supplement, XLVII, plates 1 and 2. Nos. 15-21.

between Varahran III and Narseh; when the latter came out successful in the struggle in 293, he only sent an ambassador to congratulate him on his success. This was only a prudent step which a state takes when it feels confident that an internecine war in the neighbouring country has come to an end, and the successful party is sufficiently strong to maintain his position. Bhartridāman's sending the embassy does not show that he was in any way a subordinate feudatory of Narseh. Till the end of his reign, he continued to assume the imperial title Mahākshatrapa. It was only after his death, that the title Mahākshatrapa fell into abeyance.

The debacle in the Kshatrapa kingdom during c 304 to 340 A.D. could not have been due to any Sassanian conquest. The Sassanian emperor Narseh, who was ruling from 293 to 303 A.D., was signally defeated by the Roman emperor Galerius. Narseh had to cede extensive provinces to Galerius in order to recover his family, which had fallen into the hands of the Roman emperor. Narseh, therefore, was not in a position to bring about the downfall of Bhartridaman. His successor Hormuzd II had a short reign of seven years (303-310 A.D.) and is not known to have undertaken any expeditions to the east. The next ruler Shapur II was a baby of less than one year at the time of his accession in 310 A. D. When he grew into manhood, he was involved in Roman wars during 337-8 A.D. Sassanian intervention, therefore, does not seem to have been responsible for the decline and eclipse of the power of the Western Kshatrapas during 304 to 348 A.D. It may be pointed out that no Sassanian coins of this period are found in Gujrat and Kathiawar; nor does the coinage of Rudrasimha II and Yasodāman II show any Sassanian influence.

The above discussion will show that the Sassanian expansion towards the east started about 250 A. D. Bactria and Afghanistan were annexed at this time and the crown-prince was sent to govern the new provinces with the right to issue coins in his own name. Kushāṇa chiefs were permitted to rule as feudatories. About 25 years later Varahran II effected further expansion of the Sassanian power by annexing Seistan and Sindh. Here also the Śaka chieftains were permitted to rule in the feudatory capacity and the

crown-prince, who was transferred to the newest province of the empire, is seen issuing coins with the title of Sakān Shāh. Afghanistan and the Indus valley continued to be under the Sassanian domination throughout the 4th century. The view that the whole of the Punjab was included in the Sassanian empire is based upon the discovery of a single coin of a Sassanian type in that province, and it may well have reached there through commerce. Had the Punjab been annexed to the Sassanian empire, the crown prince would certainly have been sent to it as its viceroy and we would have had a series of coins of the new province similar to that of Kushān Shāh of Bactria and Śakān Shāh of Sindh. No such coins however are known. Nor is there any substance in the contention that the dominions of the Western Kshatrapas were included in the Sassanian empire during the 4th century. Their coinage is singularly free from Sassanian influence and no Sassanian coins are ever found in Gujrat and Kathiwar. The decline of the Saka power was due to the aggression of their Indian neighbours and not to the extension of the sphere of influence of the Sassanians. The Sassanians seem to have held the Indian provinces till they were dispossessed of them by the Hūṇas at c. 450 A. D.

# THE FIRST PARSI IN ENGLAND (1724-25): NOWROJI RUSTOM MANEK OF SURAT AND HIS RELATIONS WITH THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

By Khan Bahadur M. S. Commissariat, M.A., I.E.S. (Retd.)

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Nowroji Rustomji, whose activities form the subject-matter of this paper, and who was the first Parsi and very probably the first Indian of note who went from India Rustom Manek of to England in modern times, was a member Surat of one of the most historic families of Surat, which has left its name on the page of Indian history. In order to appreciate his connection with the East India Company, and the circumstances under which he undertook, at the end of 1724, the long voyage to Europe to place his claims and grievances before the Court of Directors, it is necessary to review briefly the career of his more famous father, Rustom Manek, who was during the reign of Aurangzeb, in the second half of the 17th century, perhaps the most outstanding figure at Surat outside the ranks of the Mughal officials. By great good fortune we have abundant and unique historical material available for a study of his public career in Persian, in English, and in Portuguese. Born in the reign of Shah Jahan, Rustom died at an advanced age in 1719, after a life of unusual activity, and his name is associated with many memorable historical episodes. The Persian record about his career is in the form of a laudatory poem, written in 1711, some years before his death, by a contemporary Parsi priest, and entitled Kisseh-i-Rustom Manek. It is due to this composition that Rustomji Manekji, as he was called by his contemporaries, is also known under the Persian form of his name in which the honorific suffix used by the Gujaratis is omitted.

Rustomji's ancestors belonged to Navsari, but he and his father had come to be settled at Surat, where he made a considerable fortune by trade and commerce and in banking business. At the same time, he gave of his wealth generously in charity among all classes. The Kisseh, mentioned above, says that, on the occasion of Shivaji's disastrous invasion and sack of Surat, many Parsis

were taken prisoners by the Maratha officers who not release them without a ransom. The relatives of these unfortunate people came to Rustomji for help, and the latter secured their freedom by paying the invader the sum of ten thousand rupees for their release. This reference is either to Shivaji's first sack of 1664 or to the second one of 1670—both during the first decade or so of Aurangzeb's reign. We also learn from the Persian poem that when Aurangzeb reimposed in 1679 the hated jaziya tax on all non-Muslim subjects in the Empire, the poorer members of the Parsi community at Surat were unable to meet the impost, and that Rustomji, being appealed to, came forward and compounded with the local Diwan for the payment of the tax on their behalf. This fact becoming known to the poor and destitute of other communities, they too begged the Parsi leader for help in order to escape the harsh treatment to which they and their families were subjected by the tax-gatherers, and Rustomji saved them from their distress. Besides these specific acts of philanthropy in connection with two memorable historical episodes, the Kisseh refers to Rustom Manek's various other charitable activities in the construction of roads and bridges or culverts, to facilitate public traffic, and in providing wells at various places. One such old well, situated at a place known as Hazira, on the sea near Dumas, still exists and bears a tablet, dated 1699, to the effect that it was constructed by Rustomji.

By 1690, Rustomji had secured a leading and honoured place at Surat, both at the Governor's court and among the cosmopolitan mercantile community of this famous port, which Rustomji as Agent of the Portuguese, was known at this time as the Bandar-i-Muba-1691-1709 rak and the  $B\bar{a}b$ -al-Hajj (the Gate of the Pilgrim-From this period also begins his long connection with the Portuguese Viceroys at Goa, for he was not only their commercial agent and Interpreter at Surat, but also received the high office of Superintendent of Passports, a post which had hitherto been held only by a Portuguese and a Christian. Moreover, Rustomji was appointed to function as the Procurator, or political representative, of the Portuguese Government at Surat and thus discharged many of the duties which would now be performed by a Charge d'Affaires. In this capacity, Rustomji was the trusted

and confidential Vakil of the Viceroys at Goa, keeping them fully informed about all political developments and representing to the Mughal governors at Surat all matters affecting the interests of the Portuguese State in India. Much valuable information about Rustomji's activities on behalf of the Portuguese for well-nigh 18 years, from 1691 to 1709, is available in nearly sixty letters addressed to him by successive Viceroys and governors at Goa which have been transcribed from the old Portuguese records now located at Panjim. Incidentally, we gather from these records that Rustomji was well acquainted with the Portuguese language. Nearly one-third of these letters to Rustomji found in the Goa archives were written by the Count of Villa Verde, who was Viceroy of Portuguese India from 1693 to 1698, and who during these years proved a good friend and patron to this Parsi representative. Of particular interest is a Patent of Honour issued by him as Viceroy in 1695 to the effect that Rustomji and his father Manekji had been granted the coveted privilege of moving about in the Portuguese settlements of the 'North' (Daman, Bassein, etc.), in a palanquin and under an umbrella, in the same manner as they did at Surat by a special grant from the Mughal authorities.

The range and variety of Rustomji's public and business activities is, however, not yet exhausted. In 1700, Sir Nicholas Waite arrived at Surat as President of the new As major domo to or 'English' East India Company, which had been Sir W Norris, the Ambazsador formed in England as rival to the old or 'London' Company, and from the outset he appointed Rustomji as Broker to his Company, though many of the leading Banya financiers of the town were anxious to pay a large amount of premium for the privilege of securing this coveted appointment. Some months later, Sir William Norris arrived at Surat, being sent from England by the new Company as representative of the King of England to the Court of the great Mughal, and charged with the duty of fostering the operations of the 'English' Company. After a short stay at Surat, the Ambassador left with a large

Indian retinue and equipment, besides the European staff which

had come out in his train, for Aurangzeb's court which was at this

time located at Brahmapuri on the Bhima in the Deccan. On the

recommendation of the President and Council of the New Company, and in view of his familiarity with court affairs and his influence, Sir William selected Rustomji as his principal Agent who was to arrange for the finances of the Embassy and to be in charge of his Indian establishment. For nearly two years, therefore, this versatile and resourceful Parsi leader was away from Surat with the Ambassador. The important part played by him in the Envoy's Camp in financing loans for his disbursements, and in the negotiations with the imperial Mughal officials is not generally known to students of Indian history, largely because the very full Diary of his mission maintained by Sir William Norris, as also his correspondence with Sir Nicholas Waite and his Council at Surat, have not yet been published. A careful study of these valuable historical materials helps to show that, but for Rustomji's presence and advice, the Ambassador would probaly have fared worse than he did at the Mughal Court.

Rustomji returned to Surat about 1702, some nine months after the Ambassador had sailed for Europe, having been detained

Rustomji as Broker to the E. I. Company, 1700-1706 in the Mughal camp as a sort of hostage for the treaty which was expected to be made with the Council of the New Company at Surat. He now resumed his duties as Broker to this Company,

and, after the amalgamation of the rival Companies in 1704, he was nominated to function in the same capacity for the 'United Company'. At the end of this year, Sir Nicholas Waite left Surat for Bombay, to take up the much coveted but uneasy post of Governor of that island in place of Sir John Gayer who continued to be under confinement by the Mughal authorities at Surat. Some time about 1706, a friction arose between Waite and Rustomji, partly owing to the former's declared policy of reducing Surat to a secondary position and making Bombay the principal centre of the Company's mercantile operations. It was then that the Parsi broker gave out to Messrs Bonnell and Proby of the Council at Surat, who were also on strained terms with Sir Nicholas, that the latter had promised him 50,000 rupees to use his influence with the Mughal governor at Surat to keep Sir John Gayer confined. In consequence of this, Waite dismissed

Rustomji from the Company's service, though it was indebted to him at the time for over five lakhs and fifty-thousand rupees in connection with various loans and financial transactions. But Rustomji had powerful friends among the United Company's officials at both Surat and Bombay, and, though details of his relations with the Company after 1706 are at present lacking, there is reason to presume that, after Waite was summarily bundled off from Bombay in 1708 by his Council, this Parsi magnate was again restored to his old office as Broker, and continued with the help of his three sons (Framji, Bamanji, and Nowroji) to discharge its functions till his death which took place on 31 July 1719. It is from the Surat Diaries that we have very full information about the events of this year, and it is interesting to find that, though he was at the time over 80 years of age, Rustomji had just before his death entered into one of his many contracts with the Company for providing a large Investment in piece-goods amounting to several lakhs of rupees.

In the Surat Diary records for Monday, 3 August, 1719, we find the following entry on the subject of the legal Agreement to be made between Rustomji and the Company relative to this contract, and of the death of the former:

'According to the Directions given us by the Hon'ble Charles Boone, Esquire, President and Governor of Bombay, in Council in their letter of the 16th of July last, and received in Surat on the 29th, for Rustomji Manekji, our Chief Broker, to enter into Articles necessary for his performing the Investment lately concluded with his son Bomanji on his behalf at Bombay, we have drawn out and fairly wrote the Articles to be interchangeably executed between the Right Hon'ble Company and our said Broker, but his decease happening on the 31st ultimo, his sons Framji and Nowroji are by the custom of their caste obliged to spend at home some days in mourning, so that the agreement cannot be signed now.'2

<sup>1.</sup> Bruce's Annals, III, 595.

<sup>2.</sup> The relative volume bears the following title: Diary No. 611 of 1719-20. Laus Deo (Praise be to God). Surat, August, 1719.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;The Diary of John Hope, Esquire, Chief, etc. of the Factors residing in Surat for affairs of the Right Hon'ble the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

The entry in the Diary for the next day, 4 August, states that the period of mourning at home for the decease of their father having expired, and it being customary on His sons appoinsuch occasions, Framji and Nowroji wished to pay ted Brokers their respects to the Factory, when they expected to be offered some presents in token of their having taken the place of their late father. Moreover, the President at Bombay had also already expressed his desire to the Chief at Surat to give a sarpav and a horse to Rustomji in consideration of the latter having abated 10 per cent of the price on the Investment Order as compared with the rates settled the previous year. When, therefore, on this day, Framji and Nowroji<sup>1</sup> sent a message to Mr. John Hope and Council that, in order to maintain their credit with the Mughal Government and with the merchants of the city, they also might be given sarpavs ('which they had prepared for that purpose'), it was decided, as consistent with the honour and interest of the Company at this juncture, to gratify their request, 'thereby to encourage them in a faithful provision of the Investment and the discharge of the great trust that is now devolved on them.' According to the usual practice, therefore, two senior officials of the Factory, Messrs. Francis and Woodhouse, went to the brothers' residence, and conveyed them in the Company's coaches to the Factory at 11 o'clock, being accompanied on the way by many of the principal merchants and others. After arrival, they were presented with the horse and the sarpav. We may mention that the connection of this wealthy Parsi family of Surat with the East India Company, which began in 1700, and which had been renewed after 1708, was to last, with some breaks, for another generation, till the year 1742 when Manekji, the son of Nowroji, was discharged from the position of Broker and Vakil to the Company at Surat.

<sup>1.</sup> Rustomji left three sons. The eldest was Framji, whose name appears also in the Portuguese Records on Rustom Manek. The second was Bamanji, and the third, and perhaps the ablest and most spirited was Nowroji.

The formal Articles of Agreement relating to the Investment mentioned above were signed by the two brothers at Surat on 8

Indenture for the Company's Investment, 1719

August, and are reproduced in the Diary. The Indenture, which is dated 13 July, 1719, begins:

'Whereas the Hon'ble Charles Boone, Esquire, President and Governor of Bombay, etc., in Council, have fully authorised and empowered John Hope, Chief, and Benjamin Francis, Second, for affairs of the Right Hon'ble the United English Company at Surat to now abide and agree with the said Rustomjee Manekjee for the making an Investment of sundry Indian manufactures of Piecegoods according to the quantities and qualities as specified underneath. The Parties above mentioned have agreed on the said Investment in the following manner.'

Next follow the various clauses of the Agreement which may be briefly summarised. Rustomji or his assigns, were to begin the work with all convenient speed, and to deliver the Details.  $\mathbf{of}$  $_{
m the}$ goods, contracted for, 'at the Company's tents contract on Castle Green,' from time to time; these goods were to conform in every respect to the musters as settled in the previous year, and proportionate abatements were to be made in the payment for deficiencies in length, breadth, etc., in the manufacture, according to the decision of arbitrators chosen by both sides to inspect and value the same; the prices for the various classes of piecegoods to be the same as fixed for the previous year's Investment, Rustomjee agreeing to 'abate ten out of every hundred rupees value of goods', according to the undertaking given by his son Bamanji to the President and Council at Bombay; the Hon'ble Company was to bear all the charges for Insurance, Rhadarage etc., as customary, and to allow the Broker interest on all sums of money advanced by him to the weavers, etc., for carrying on and completing the work; if any part of the Investment should be plundered, stolen, lost or destroyed by Potentates, robbers, fire, or other calamity,' without any default on the part of the Broker, the Company was to bear all the loss and damage on receiving substantial proof. The Indenture concludes with the following 'Memorandum', evidently inserted as a post script:

'Whereas Rustomjee Maneckjee departed this life the 31st of July, yet it being custom and superstition with these people to continue the name of their father on the Right Hon'ble Company's Books, his sons Framjee (Bamanjee being at Bombay) and Nowrojee Sign and Seal this Contract-Surat, August 8, 1719'.

The contract thus entered into was a valuable one, amounting to goods to the value of several lakhs of rupees to be provided within a single year. This may be seen from an entry in the Records to the effect that the Brokers had informed the Council that they had despatched sub-brokers to several towns in Gujarat and had made remittances amounting to Rs. 1,30,668 for setting on foot the Investment. Among the towns mentioned are Nunsaree (Navsari), Rounell (Rander), Baddowlee (Bardoli), Ahmadabad, Broach and Baroda, these being at the time the principal centres for the cotton-weaving and manufaturing trade.

The relations between Rustomji's sons (as the Chief Brokers) and the officials of the Company, at both Surat and Bombay, appear to have been very cordial up to the departure from Strained relations India of Charles Boone, the Governor and Presiwith the Company dent at Bombay, early in 1723, after holding that office for six years. Under Boone's successor, William Phipps, however, serious differences arose on the subject of the Brokers' claims. It appears that the Company was under heavy liability to Rustomji and his sons for sums amounting to nearly five and a half lakhs of rupees, including the amount due on two bond-deeds executed in 1716 in favour of Rustomji. We find from the 'Court Books' of the Company in London that, in 1722, Bamanji at Bombay, and Framji and Nowroji at Surat, despatched two letters, within the space of two months, to the Directors, which reached London in the following year. Though their contents are not known, we may presume, from the events that we have now to record, that they were in connection with the financial claims of the family.

There is little doubt that after Boone's departure, the attitude assumed by the Company's officials in the matter of meeting

these claims was repressive and high-handed. Repressive mea-It is possible that even the Directors in sures, 1728 England were misinformed or kept in ignorance about the severe measures taken by William Phipps at Bombay, and by Charles Hope at Surat, until publicity was given to them by a petition submitted to the Court in person by Nowroji, who went from Surat to England in 1723 to represent these hardships to the Directors. From this petition we find that Framji, the eldest son of Rustomji, had been kept a close prisoner at Surat by the governor of that place at the instance of the Chief of the English factory (first Mr. Hope and later Messrs. Cowan and Courtney), backed by Governor Phipps from Bombay. Moreover, guards had been set on Rustomji's house, and Framji had been forced by the Mughal governor to pay 50,000 rupees, besides 200 rupees per day for permission to supply the family with provisions and water. Over and above these hardships, 'he had undergone corporal punishment'. The petition further stated that Bamanji, who was resident in Bombay, had been confined to his house on the island under orders from William Phipps and thus prevented from leaving the place.1

Nowroji was a chip of the old block. With his two brothers deprived of their liberty of person, one of them heavily blackmailed by the Surat governor, and with no hope of redress in this country, he determined upon Nowroji proceeds to England, 1728 the bold and unusual step of submitting his family's claims and wrongs in person to the Court of Directors in London. He was moreover, a man of ample resources; and the honour of his house, which had for over half a century held a respected and commanding place among the citizens of Surat, as also the full consciousness of the justice of his claims, all appear to have combined to bring about his decision. He was thus the first Parsi, and also no doubt one of the first Indians of note to visit England, and the complete success of his efforts there constitutes the fullest vindication of

<sup>1.</sup> Letter from the Directors to the President and Council at Bombay, 19 Aug, 1724, reproduced in J. J. Modi's Rustom Manek and the Persian Qisseh, 310-11.

his cause. He sailed from Surat, after the monsoon season of 1723, in the Britsh man-of-war Salisbury, commanded by Captain Braithwaite, and he was accompanied by a number of servants and retainers. He also carried with him a cargo of goods for sale in England, and his ship arrived at Spithead towards the end of April, 1724. Our information about the events that we shall now describe is based upon the 'Court Books' of the East India Company, and upon family records in English, consisting of a judicial Award and other documents which are directly associated with Nowroji's activities in England.<sup>1</sup>

Before we proceed to describe these activities, we may mention that the Salisbury frigate, in which Nowroji sailed for England, was one of a royal squadron of four Commodore Matmen-of-war, which had been sent out early in thews befriends him 1721 by the British Government at the request of the Directors, in charge of Commodore Matthews, for the purpose of extirpating European piracy in the Eastern seas. Matthews arrived at Bombay in September, 1721, and, being of a violent temper, he quickly fell out with his Captains and the Company's servants in Western India. Ignoring his commission, he applied himself to his own interests and to private trade, and in open hostility to Governor Phipps and his Council, he constituted himself the champion of all those who had any grievances against the Company's officials. He told the Bombay Council that they were merely traders while he had the King's Commission and was answerable to no official of the Company. After a sail to Madagascar and Mauritius, presumably in search of pirates, we find him again on the Bombay coast at the end of 1723. He now demanded from the Council the surrender of Bamanji, who was then under detention in Bombay, so that the Council put the latter in confinement in the Castle to prevent the Commodore from taking him on board under his protection. It was Matthews again who, as stated above, helped Nowroji to sail for England in one of the royal men-of-war to enable him to

<sup>1.</sup> These documents, some of which have been reproduced in facsimile in other works, are at present with the family of the late Mr. Kavasjee Jalbhoy Sett, a leading member of the Parsi community in Bombay, and a direct descendant of the family of Rustom Manek.

submit his case to the Directors. In this respect, and in befriending Bamanji, the Commodor's activities were certainly exercised to good purpose on behalf of those who were not being justly treated by the Company's servants. It is almost certain that the Bombay authorities, in view of their hostile attitude, would have taken good care to see that Nowroji was not given a passage to England in any of the Company's ships to urge his grievances and claims against them before the Directors in person. Matthews himself left the shores of India at the end of 1723, reaching England in July, 1724.<sup>1</sup>

After arrival in London, Nowroji appears to have lost no time in establishing contacts with various people, many of them

Nowroji meets the Directors, May 13, 1724 being no doubt retired officials of the Company with whom he and his father had come into close relations in India. Among these, we find special mention of Charles Boone, ex-Governor of Bombay,

who was actively helpful, and who probably did much to bring this energetic Surat merchant into contact with persons of influence at the Company's headquarters, all of whom were favourably impressed by the manner in which the visitor placed his case before them. Before the middle of May, 1724 he had his first interview with the august body of the East India Company's Directors, and the relevant entry in the Court Book for this year reads as under:

'At a Court of Directors holden on Wednesday, the 13th May 1724 ... Norrojee Rustumjee presenting himself to the Court delivered in a Petition in behalf of himself and his Brothers, late Brokers at Suratt, praying that justice may be done them in relation to the demands which he alleges they have on the Company.

'Ordered that it be referred to the Committee of Correspondence to examine into the allegations of the said Petition and to report from time to time to this Court how they find

<sup>1.</sup> J. Biddulph, The Pirates of Malabar, 169-99. After Matthews' arrival in England, the Directors sued him in the Court of the Exchequer for infringing their charter by private trading, and obtained a decree against him for £ 13.676, which, according to Act of Parliament, was doubled as a penalty. 'The remembrance of his behaviour long rankled in the minds of the Directors, and 20 years elapsed before they could again bring themselves to apply for the despatch of a royal squadron to the Indian Seas'. (Ibid, 201),

the same. He (Nowroji) was called in and acquainted therewith.<sup>1</sup>

The 'allegations' referred to in Nowroji's petition, along with other matters, were no doubt about the confinement of his two

()rders for release of the brothers, 1724

brothers; and these appear to have been duly considered by the Committee of Correspondence, whose recommendations were placed before a meeting of the Court of Directors held on June 19,

A draft letter prepared by the Committee to be sent to the President and Council of Bombay, giving effect to Nowroji's petition, was read at the meeting and approved. It was further ordered that six letters of the same tenour 'be written out fair and signed' and delivered to Nowroji, 'as he desires, under flying seals, for him to send abroad.' These being prepared, and duly signed by the 17 Directors, were ordered to be delivered to Nowroji at a meeting of the Court held on 24 June. But, on the same day, the latter submitted another petition desiring to have some alterations made in the six letters which were to be given to him relating to the release of his brothers Framji and Bamanji. This request was turned down, it being resolved 'that this Court don't think fit to make any alterations therein, but that he may have them as they are or else they shall be cancelled'. After passing this Resolution, Nowroji was called in and acquainted therewith, 'to which he replied he could not take them for they would do him no good.' Whereupon, another motion was made and passed to the effect that the letters be cancelled.<sup>2</sup> What the alterations were that Nowroji desired the Directors to make in the six copies to be sent to the Governor and Council at Bombay, is not stated. As we shall see, they contained direct orders for the immediate release of the two brothers confined at Surat and Bombay respectively, and it must have been some very cogent reason which led Nowroji to agree to the letters being cancelled by the Directors rather than allow them to be sent unaltered, for his action was

<sup>1.</sup> E. I. Company's Court Book, Vol. 5I, p. 34. This extract along with others, has been published in S. K. Hodivalla's History of the Seth Khāndān (Bombay, 1931), 102.

<sup>2.</sup> E. I. Company's Court Book, Vol. 51, pp 61, 68, 72.

certain to delay the release of his brothers. We shall, however, offer presently some reasons which may help to explain Nowroji's attitude.

Nowroji's stay in London lasted for almost a whole year, from the end of April, 1724 to some date late in March, 1725. During this period he must have been a constant Some minor visitor to the Company's headquarters at the requests granted East India House in Leadenhall Street, and his personality and oriental Parsi dress must have no doubt attracted considerable attention. The Court Books of the Company contain frequent references to his petitions and requests in various matters, all of which appear to have been sympathetically considered. Thus, on 19 June 1724, Nowroji submitted a request about the sale of certain goods, therein mentioned, which had arrived by the Salisbury and had been brought up to London from Portsmouth and were lying in the King's warehouse. The Directors ordered the Committee of Warehouses to give the needful directions for putting up the said goods at the approaching Sale. Again, on 24 June, Nowroji petitioned that for reasons mentioned by him he might be supplied with £ 5,000. The matter was referred to the Committee of Correspondence for consideration and report, and, at the meeting of 8 July, the Court ordered that a Warrant be made out to Nowroji Rustomji for two thousand pounds 'to be advanced him for his present subsistence and on accompt'.1

About two months after he had declined to accept the six copies of the Directors' letter to the President and Council at Bombay, 'Nowroji desiring (on Ang., 12, 1724) to speak with the Court', was called in, and expressed his willingness to accept the letters relating to his brothers' release, 'of the same tenour as those prepared before'. This request was granted, and a week later, on 19 August, the six copies having been prepared, one of them was read and approved, and all were duly signed and delivered to Nowroji 'under flying seals' as he desired to send them overland. This letter is of great importance and we shall consi-

<sup>1.</sup> Court Book, Vol. 51, pp. 60, 72, 75.

der its contents in some detail. The Directors acknowledge various letters sent to them from Bombay, in which the Governor and his Council appear to have given their own version of the proceedings which they had taken about the settlement of their accounts with their Parsi brokers, and the reasons why the brothers Framji and Bamanji were in confinement at Surat and at Bombay respectively. Unfortunately, the contents of these letters are still unknown to us. When, at some future date, they are published, along with other records relating to this period, we shall be able to know whether or not matters were being manipulated by the Company's servants in India with regard to their obligations to their late Broker and his sons.

The Directors' orders to their Bombay officials with regard to the two brothers Framji and Bamanji are given in the following paragraph

'But, however the case may be, we have at Nowrojee's request consented and agreed, and do hereby direct and order, that you do give leave to Bamanjee, if he do yet remain at Bombay, to go to Surat whenever he pleases without delay, and that you do your endeavour by proper application to the Governor of Surat to get F'ramjee released from confinement, and the Guards taken off from his late Father's house, our desires being to end all differences amicably, for we would not have him opprest.'

The orders are clear and emphatic and show that Nowroji must have succeeded in convincing the Court of the unfairness of the action taken by its servants in India. In order, however, not to put its officials openly in the wrong, we find the following statement in its Letter, which immediately precedes the extract quoted above:

'We are apt to think this case is greatly aggravated, or at least, that the Government proceeded to rigorous treatment to oblige Framjee to come to a fair account according to the custom of the country, which was at first civilly desired to be done without any compulsion and ought to have been complied with.'

It was probably this paragraph to which Nowroji took objection and that induced him to decline to accept on June 24 the six

Possible reasons for Nowroji's attitude letters unless some alterations were made on the lines suggested by him. One cannot readily understand why the Surat governor should, in a

matter in which the Mughal government was not affected, put a prominent merchant of the town into prison, place guards at his father's house, exact from him a sum of Rs. 50,000, and demand a daily blackmail of two hundred rupees for allowing provisions and water to be supplied to this respected Parsi family all this on his own initiative, and that too 'according to the custom of the country'. Besides, beyond the Bombay Council's allegations, there is nothing to show, in the records so far available, that Rustom's sons were unwilling 'to come to a fair account', or that they did not comply with 'what was at first civilly desired to be done without any compulsion'. They were creditors, on behalf of their own and their father's claims, for large amounts, and should have been only too ready and insistent, especially after their revered father's death, to demand a settlement from the Company's servants. Their letters of 16 August and 29 October 1722, sent to the Directors, and mentioned in the Court Book as the earliest minutes bearing on the the subject, would throw much light on their attitude if they could be traced in the India Office Records. The Award given later by the Arbitrators is entirely in favour of Nowroji and his brothers, and among the various accounts referred to in that document there is not a single direct reference to sums owed by Rustom Manek or his sons to the Company. In view of all this, and his own knowledege of what had been going on behind the scenes between the authorities at Bombay and Momin Khan at Surat, it is possible that Nowroji was annoyed at the insertion in the Company's letter to Bombay of the remarks just quoted, in which the Directors stated that they thought the case was greatly 'aggravated', i. e., exaggerated. Nothing short of such exasperation could have induced Nowroji, a person of great tact and commonsense, to refuse in open Court to take delivery, at first, of the six letters which had been sealed and signed by all the seventeen Directors of the Company. Moreover, these letters were to carry the orders for his brothers' immediate release, a matter on which he must have no doubt been most anxious since his arrival in England, for every day that they spent in confinement must have been revolting to him as reflecting on the honour of his house. When, however, after nearly two

months, he realised the hopelessness of securing any alteration in the draft, he was probably advised by friends to accept the situation, which was in the nature of a practical victory for his cause.

We get some information about the action taken by President Phipps in Council at Bombay, on receiving the very positive orders from the Directors, from a letter, dated 5 August 1725, sent to John Courtney, the Chief of the Factory at Surat, though it is rather surprising that the orders should have reached Bombay so late as a year after they had been despatched from London by various routes to India. The President's letter says:

'The day before brought us the Hon'ble Company's letters, who take notice of signifying to us their pleasure to have the late brokers released if under confinement, and that we should forbear any further prosecution of that family, they being determined to end all differences with them amicably; we, therefore, in compliance with the said orders, hereby direct you to forbear making any applications to the Government to oblige them to account with us, by virtue of the parwana lately received from court for that purpose. Nevertheless, we recommend you not to give them the least countenance, whereby our Hon'ble Masters' affairs may suffer. As for Bomanji, we shall permit him to leave the island before we receive our Hon'ble Masters' orders concerning his malicious insinuations and endeavours to disturb and embroil their affairs with the government of Surat.'

The language of this letter leads us to the conclusion that, before the arrival of the Company's orders, Framji had been already released at Surat from the confinement in which he had been placed by the governor of that place. The opening sentence of the same letter confirms this, for it reads: 'We approve of your denying Framji the liberty of coming to the factory, from the just apprehension you were under that his coming would greatly prejudice the Company's affairs.'

<sup>1.</sup> Refrences in earlier letters of 1723 and 1724 show that the matter at issue between the E. I. Company and Rustomji's sons had been referred to the Mughal Court, and that at one time orders had arrived to send Framji there to settle matters, a procedure to which the Chief of the factory at Surat took objection.

An important meeting of the Court of Directors, so far as it affected the issue which had brought Rustom

Request for Arbitration accepted, Nov., 1724

Manek's son to England, was held on 18 November 1724, more than six months after his arrival.

The Directors discussed the report submitted by

The Directors discussed the report submitted by the Committee of Correspondence to the effect that it had held several meetings with Nowroji relating to his demands on the Company, and had inspected the accounts drawn out from the Company's books by the Accountant, and that Nowroji was desirous of having the matter settled by arbitration. Nowroji was, thereupon, called into the Court, and he presented a petition on behalf of of himself and his brothers, in which he declared his willingness to submit his affairs to the arbitration of four gentlemen of the Court, himself naming Sir Matthew Decker and Josias Wordsworth as his representatives, and praying the Court to appoint two others, and after this he withdrew. The Court then proceeded to resolve that the matters in dispute be referred to arbitration, and nominated Edward Harrison and John Heathcote to represent the Company. To these four gentlemen, or any three of them, all the accounts were to be submitted with instructions to 'determine' the matter in two months. Nowroji was then again called in and acquainted with the decision, and also informed that the Court had ordered Bonds to be prepared in order to make end of his affairs with all expedition."

The four Arbitrators submitted their Award within two months, as they had been enjoined to do, and the same was read at a meeting of the Court of Directors held in January, 1725. The substance of the Award was to the effect that there was due from the Company to the three brothers, 'either in their own right or as representatives of their father,' a sum of Rs. 5,46,390, which the Company was directed to pay, in the manner specified, at London and at Bombay, as will be stated in greater detail below. Nowroji was next called in by the Court, and a copy of 'the said Award so published' was delivered to him. It must have been a proud day for him when he left the India

<sup>1.</sup> Court Book, Vol. 50, p. 174, quoted by S. K. Hodivala, op. cit., 105.

House with the document under his arm, for the Award was a most satisfactory recompense for the anguish suffered by his brothers and their families owing to their confinement, as also for all the trouble he had taken to go to London, thousands of miles away from his native land, and involving a voyage of over six months either way. The document, engrossed on parchment, has been preserved by the descendants of Nowroji for over two centuries, and except for the fact that the ink has somewhat faded it is in excellent condition.

The Award, as is characteristic of legal instruments, is a fairly long document, with all the inevitable verbiage and involved clauses, and it is given in the eleventh year Details of the of the reign of King George I, and dated the 18th January 1724, 'English style', which is 1725 in the New style. The four Arbitrators, having 'fully heard and examined the several allegations and proofs and duly and maturely weighed and considered the same', declare that in their opinion there were due on the 18th November 'last' from the United Company to Nowroji and his two brothers the following amounts:

Rs. 91,367 and  $29\frac{1}{2}$  pies by virtue of one 'Bond Deed or Interest Bill', under the seal of the Company, dated 15 May 1716.

Rs. 51,840 by virtue of another 'Bond Deed', under the seal of the Company, dated 4 October 1716.

And further, there was due to the brothers upon several accounts depending between them and the Company, 'so much as in the whole, with the money due on the abovementioned Bond Deeds or Interest Bills, as make together Rs. 5,46,390.'

After declaring that this amount of Rs. 5,46,390 was the 'full of all' that could be claimed or demanded of or from the

United Company by Nowroji Rustomji and his two brothers, either in their own right or as the representatives of their father, the Arbitrators award the said amount to be accepted by the three brothers in full satisfaction of all demands between them and the United Company, and further that the same be paid by the Company in the manner and form and place indicated below:

- i) £ 19,125 'sterling money, being the amount or value in England of Rs.  $1,70,000^{\circ}$ , to be paid to Nowroji Rustomji on or before the first day of February (i.e. 1 Feb. 1724/25). And, upon such payment, Nowroji was to deliver up to the Company, for being cancelled, the two Bonds mentioned above.
- ii) Rs. 1,88,195 to be paid by the Company to Nowroji Rustomji 'at Bombay in the East Indies', on or before the first day of February 1725 English style' (1726 N.S.), upon payment of which Nowroji, Framji and Bamanji were to sign a receipt of acquittance of and for the said amount.
- iii) Rs. 1,88,195 to be paid by the Company to the said Nowroji at Bombay 'on or before the first day of February which will be in the year of our Lord 1726, English style' (1727 N.S.), this sum being the residue of, and in full payment and satisfaction for, the sum of Rs. 5,46,390 due and owing from the United Company on the whole. And upon receiving payment of this last mentioned sum, Nowroji Rustomji and his two brothers 'shall sign, seal and deliver to the said Company, and their successors, a general release of and from all Claims, Accounts and Demands whatsoever between them and each of them and the said United Company to the said 18th day of November last past'.
- iv) Lastly, the Arbitrators award and direct that Nowroji shall execute unto the Company a Bond of Sufficient Penalty for saving harmless and indemnified the United Company and their successors against all claims and demands that may be made upon it in respect of the sums paid in pursuance of this award, and from and against all suits and damages that may at any time be commenced or prosecuted against the Company in respect of their having made such payments.<sup>2</sup>

A few days after receiving delivery of this Award on January 27, 1725, Nowroji presented a petition to the Court of Directors to the effect that he did not require the full amount of the £ 19,125 awarded to be paid to him in England, but that he wanted at the time only £ 15,000, and he desired that the residue be paid to him on his arrival at Surat, consenting on receipt thereof to deliver

<sup>1.</sup> This works out at 2 s. 3 d. per rupee, and supplies us with information about the exchange-value of the rupee at this period.

<sup>2.</sup> For the full text of this Award, see JJ. Modi, Rustom Manock and the Persian Qisseh in 'Asiatic Papers', Pt. IV, 312-16; also S. K. Hodivala's History of the Seth Khāndān. 91-97.

up the two Bonds to the President and Council at Surat. The matter was referred by the Court to the Committee of Correspondence for consideration and for such directions as they thought fit. At the next sitting of the Court, on Feb. 5, 1725, an engrossed Agreement, prepared by Mr. Woodford (probably the Company's attorney), between the Company and Nowroji, was submitted for its approval, whereby, pursuant to Nowroji's petition, the Company was that day to give him £ 14,625 in part payment of the  $\pounds$  19,125 awarded by the Arbitrators to be paid to him in England. The Court being next informed that Nowroji had executed his part of this agreement, it was ordered that the Committee of the Treasury 'be desired to affix the Company's seal to two parts of the said Agreement, according to Nowroji's desire, to be carried to India by two conveyances'. Evidently, as a shrewd merchant, Nowroji was investing this large amount in the purchase of commodities in England for being carried to India for sale there.

At the same meeting of the Court, on 5 Feb. 1725, Nowroji submitted a request that, as his accounts had He proposes  $\mathbf{to}$ been settled, he was desirous of returning to sail for India India, and he prayed that the Court would give directions to Captain Lyell of the Windham to carry him and his twelve servants to Surat, as also ten brass guns, some copper pots, sheet lead, provisions, etc., for himself and servants, free of freight or charge. This prayer was granted, but at the same time the Committee of Shipping was ordered to take the necessary care that the quantity of goods so carried by him was such 'that the ship be not pestered thereby.' A few days later, Nowroji submitted to the Court a list of the goods which he desired to take with him on the Windham, and permission was granted to him to do so freight free. The reference to twelve servants<sup>2</sup> shows that Nowroji travelled to Europe in considerable state, a fact that must have impressed those brought into association with him. It is also highly probable that during his long stay in London he lived in

<sup>1.</sup> Court Book, Vol. 51, pp. 241-42.

<sup>2.</sup> It is probable that they were not all servants, but that several of the number were Nowroji's friends or dependants and relatives.

high style and entertained friends and other prominent members of the Company on a lavish scale. It is not clear for what purpose the ten brass guns were to be utilised on his return to Surat, but as these were much in demand by the Mughal governor of the place they were very probably intended for sale to that official.

In the last month of his stay in England, and on the eve of his departure, Nowroji was confronted with an unexpected difficulty, for, on 12 March 1725, he He fears detention by Mr. Proby submitted a representation to the Court to help him out of it. It stated that one Mr. Proby (who had been second in Council at Surat in 1705) threatened to arrest and detain Nowroji on an old and unreasonable pretence of an account between him and Nowroji's late father; also that the petitioner had reason to apprehend that Commodore Matthews and some others would also endeavour to stop him from sailing. Nowroji requested the Court to interpose on his behalf in order to prevent their designs.1 Further, should any 'Bailor Security' be required for this purpose, he desired that the Court would cause the same to be given, for which he engaged himself to indemnify the Company, and he agreed that the amount thereof be deducted from the money payable to him and his brothers under the Award lately made. The Court, thereupon, resolved to indemnify any of the Directors or any other persons who shall be Bail for Nowroji Rustomji in case of any arrest at the suit of Commodore Matthews or William Proby. An echo of this episode is heard, just ten months later, in the minutes of a Court meeting held on 12 January 1726, when a letter from 'Governor' Boone<sup>2</sup> was read, desiring the Court to advance a sum of £ 50 to pay Mr. Woodford's bill towards defraying the law charges in the suit between Nowroji and Mr. Proby, this amount to be deducted from the money due to Nowroji from the Company. After the matter had been referred to the Committee

<sup>1.</sup> This Petition is signed by Nowroji both in Gujarati and in English, and a copy of the same having been secured from the India Office Records some years ago by Mr. Kavanji Jalbhoy Sett, it has been possible to reproduce it in facsimile at the end of this chapter.

<sup>2.</sup> This shows that Charles Boone, the ex-Governor of Bombay, continued. after Nowroji's departure from England, to take a keen interest in his affairs.

as usual, we find from a record in the Court Book, dated 9 Feb. 1726, that the Directors ordered a Warrant for £ 50 to be made out in favour of Mr. Woodford. At the same time, the Committee of Correspondence was desired to insert in the General Letter sent to Bombay a clause advising thereof, with orders that the amount should be recovered from the first payment made to Nowroji.<sup>1</sup>

On 17 March 1725 Nowroji made what was probably his last request to the Court of Directors before sailing He requests fafor India. Its purport was that, since the vours for Company 'had settled his affairs very honourably brothers and much to his satisfaction, and had likewise given him an early despatch', he now prayed for some further favours ('therein enumerated') for the satisfaction of his brothers in India. The petition was, as usual, referred to the Committee of Correspondence to consider and to report upon. Though there is no further reference to the subject in the Court Book, we find from a letter written to Surat by the Council at Bombay at the end of Jan., 1726, that the Directors had issued orders, no doubt on the lines of Nowroji's request, for the formal restoration to favour of his brothers and for their reconciliation with the Company's officials. We shall refer again to this matter later on.

A letter from Charles Boone, ex-Governor of Bombay, dated 25 March 1725, written to Framji and Governor Boone Bamanji at Surat, throws considerable light on befriends Nowroji Nowroji's activities in England, and shows that the success of his visit was in no small measure due to the friendly help and advice of this late high official of the Company. Boone had been President and Governor at Bombay for a period of six years, from 1716 to 1722, during which time he laboured hard to promote the interests of the island in various directions. The town wall of Bombay was one of his earliest projects, and it was built almost entirely by contributions from the native merchants of the place. The Bombay Church, whose completion had been held up for nearly half a century for lack of funds, was also finished through his efforts, and declared open by him in 1718. Boone was active in getting together a large fleet and made

<sup>1.</sup> Court Book, Vol. 51, pp. 108-09.

repeated attacks on Kanhoji Angria's pirate strongholds Kennery, Gheriah and Alibagh, but his efforts were crippled by the military and naval incompetency of those on whom he depended for carrying out his designs. Unlike several of his predecessors, Boone had proved himself a faithful and zealous servant of the Company, and he was evidently in the enjoyment of the Directors' confidence after his return to England in 1722. We gather from the tenour of his letter that he had been a good friend to Rustom Manek's sons during the period of his office in Bombay, a fact which is in striking contrast to the hostile attitude taken up by William Phipps, his successor. Captain Alexander Hamilton, who was for some time Commander of the ships at Bombay during Boone's tenure of office, and who has generally little good to say about the Company's officials, describes Boone as a gentleman of as much honour and good sense as any that ever sat in that chair'. It appears that, after his retirement from India, Boone was carrying on business in India on his own account through the sons of Rustomji as his agents.

The letter to which we have referred was probably sent from England by Boone with Nowroji himself, or by the same boat, the Windham, in which the latter sailed for India. At the outset. Boone tells the two brothers that it was a mistake to send Nowroji to England without a Letter of Attorney under their signature as required by the English law, and also that they should have sent with him the Interest Bonds in original, 'which was the most material things wanting.' The letter then continues:

'I have to the utmost of my power helped and assisted Nowrojee in your affair, and have been of greater service than any body could have been here, as I believe Nowrojee will do me the justice to signify to you—whatever Nowrojee hath

<sup>1.</sup> There is, however, one blot on Boone's very creditable record in Bombay, viz., that he sanctioned the use of torture on a witness in the famous Rama Kāmāti Case in 1720. The late Mr. S. M. Edwardes says: 'We can never forgive Mr. Boone for countenancing the torture of the ill-starred Govind. The memory of what he effected towards ameliorating the helpless condition of our island is completely overshadowed by regret for this act of inhumanity' (The Rise of Bombay, 155). For the history of the case see P. B. M. Malabari, Bombay in the Making, 328-50.

done in this concern hath been by my advice; he always consulted with me, and I have told him what was necessary and proper to be done—And, as I have said to Nowrojee, that if he or you tell anybody what methods have been taken in England relating to this business it will greatly prejudice the affairs.'

Boone next proceeds to say that Nowroji had had some dispute with Captain Braithwaite of the man-of-war Salisbury in which he came to England, but that he had been instru-Hores of being mental in settling the same and that the two had appointed Brokers given a general release to each other. After referring to some moneys due to himself for 'consulage and interest', which had been paid to him in England by Nowroji, Boone adds that he had advised the latter, and so had several other gentlemen in England, that the three brothers should live amicably and work peacefully in all their affairs, 'because in a very short time it's to be hoped the Hon. Company will employ you all jointly as their Broker, as is promised by my own and Nowrojee's good friends here, but if any dispute happens among you then you will ruin your business'. In a postscript to this letter, Boone makes an interesting reference to Commodore Matthews, who had been instrumental in bringing Nowroji to England, for he says that the 'affair' between Nowroji and the Commodore in respect of a Bill of Exchange had been concluded, and he adds 'I do not think it the least service I have done your family.'

But perhaps the most interesting part of ex-governor Boone's letter is what refers to the impression created by Nowroji held in Nowroji in London. 'Since Nowrojee's coming to England.' says the letter, 'he hath been very ill, but he has taken great pains in this business, and everybody here hath great value and esteem for him because he has managed this affair to the satisfaction of the Hon'ble Company, and for the good and interest of his brothers and family, therefore you ought to make him a handsome present for his long and fatiguing voyage and good services'.¹ This then is the very last reference we have

<sup>1</sup> The letter concludes: 'Your very Loving, Chas. Boone'. By reading this signature as Boonet, instead of Boone, Sir J. J. Modi and others have missed the identity of its writer with the famous Governor of Bombay, and 'Boonet' has been described as

to Nowroji before he left England. The fact that he had established the correctness of his father's and family's accounts from the Company's own records, and that he had shown his confidence in the Directors' sense of fair play and honour by selecting two of their own number to be his representatives in the Arbitration proceedings, as also the zeal with which he prosecuted and carried to fruition the object that he had at heart, all go to justify Boone's remark that Nowroji had been fortunate in securing the esteem and respect of all those with whom he came into contact in England. In view of all this success, it becomes more than ever difficult to explain the grounds on which the President and Council at Bombay, and their subordinates in Surat, imposed upon Rustom Manek's two elder sons the indignities that have been mentioned in the early part of this paper.

We learn from the Bombay Diaries that the Windham, with Nowroji on board, probably reached Bombay in the last days of Sept. 1725, and it brought orders from the Directors, dated April 2 of that year, on the subject of the claims of Rustom's family. A letter by the Bombay Council, dated 1 Oct., 1725, from President William Phipps to John Courtney, the Chief at Surat, gives us the substance of these orders, which were evidently received with some dismay, but the Company's servants had no choice but to carry them out:

'On the Windham, Nowroji is returned from England, having adjusted the accounts of his family there with our Hon'ble Masters, whose orders are also sent us for punctually complying with the same. The terms the President has already acquainted Mr. Courtney (with) in his particular advices to him, the which we would have care taken be not made public by any of our factory; and the brothers, for their own sakes, we believe, will be desirous it should be concealed at least from coming to the knowledge of the Government.

'Notwithstanding the best practices of Bomanji in endeavouring to involve our affairs with the Surat government, and also to calumniate us in his false informations sent his brother to England, yet our Hon'ble Masters showing a disposition in

a former head of the E. I. Company at Surat. This valuable document has been reproduced in facsimile at the end of this paper.

themselves to favour that family, we have therefore chose to pass over this his business without further resentment than that we do not think fit to grant him the freedom of the factory, which we direct you to permit the two other brothers to have equally with other merchants. And we confirm what before the President has directed in his private letter to Mr. Courtney that on Framji, the eldest brother's coming first to pay his respects to him, he present him with a couple of shawls, and the usual ceremony of sprinkling rose water, etc. Bomanji is released from his confinement and has liberty to return to Surat at his pleasure'.

It will be seen how, rather unwillingly. Governor Phipps at

Framji admitted to the Factory, 1725 Bombay was carrying out the orders received from the Court in England, though Bamanji was still denied permission to enter the Factory at Surat. The President and Council informed the Directors,

in a letter dated 25 January, 1726, that, on receipt of the orders, they had directed that Framji should be admitted to the factory at Surat and presented with a sarpav, rose water and betel, 'to give him countenance as one taken again into grace'. The Bombay Council's letter goes on to add that, after the whole amount due to Nowroji and his brothers had been paid, and a general release to the Company secured from them in terms of the Award, the brothers would be presented with a sarpav, or dress of honour, besides a horse to the eldest, according to the instructions which they had received, unless the Directors thought it necessary to alter the 'manner thereof' in any degree'. Thus the sons of Rustomji were finally reconciled to the local officers of the Company in India, and later Records refer to the renewed association of the members of this famous house with the Company at Bombay and Surat, leading to the appointment of Manekji, the only son of Nowroji, as their broker at Surat in 1737.

<sup>1.</sup> This letter has been reproduced in S. K. Hodivala's History of the Seth Khāndān, 110. In another despatch sent to the Court of Directors, the Company's servants alleged that Rustom Manek and his family were considered as of no importance at Surat before they joined the Company's service, but that, thereafter, their fortunes were assured. (Ind. Anty, 1930, p. 140). How absolutely unfounded and contrary to facts such an assertion was, may be seen from Rustom Manek's early career prior to 1700 and his relations with the Portuguese Viceroys in India long before he had any connection with the 'New' East India Company.

An interesting reference to the differences between the East India Company's servants and Rustom Manek's sons, and to Nowroji's visit to England, is found in a document in the Portuguese archives at Goa. It is a letter sent, in August, 1727, by one Moses Tobias from Surat to the Viceroy at Goa, and it supplies some further details about the amounts extorted from Rustom's sons by the governor of Surat, and about the intention at one time entertained by the brothers to change their place of residence, and if possible to migrate to Portuguese territory. We give the English rendering of this letter below:

'Formerly, there used to be great differences of opinion between the sons of Rustom and the English about accounts dating from the time of their father, who was the Broker of the Company. After him (Rustom), the said Company engaged another Broker, an old Banya, and the Governor, finding that they (Rustom's sons) were without any one's protection, took advantage of the circumstances to imprison the eldest son and took from him nearly a hundred thousand rupees. On account of this dispute, they wanted to change their place of residence. But the younger brother resolved to go to Europe. He came back from that place with an order from the said Company that he should be paid 5,35,000 rupees. Under cover of this order, he (the Governor) forcibly took a sum of 70,000 rupees, saying that he was entitled to claim a fourth part of the said recoveries. At the present day, they are again reconciled to the said English, and are free from all harassment; one of them, the younger brother, has gone with all his family to the Island of Bombay, two remain in this city."

There is also another document of this period at Goa which shows that the Portuguese authorities had not forgotten the long and faithful services rendered to them by Rustomji and were ready to befriend his family long after their trusted agent had passed away. From a letter, dated 10 May 1728, sent by the Viceroy, João de Saldanha da Gama, to the General of the North at Bassein, we find that Rustom's sons had asked for certain facilities in Portuguese

<sup>1.</sup> Portuguese Records on Rustom Manock, ed. by Fanduranga Pissurlencar. Eng. trans., 115.

territory from the General, who had forwarded their request to Goa, The Viceroy writes:

'On my behalf you will extend all help and kind treatment to the sons of Rustom in case they should desire to pass through with their ships and to transact business in any part of the State; whence I will permit them to sail freely to any other part convenient to their business."

For several years that followed these events, no special reference relating to the East India Company's connection with the three brothers has so far been traced, but it is evident that they were all actively engaged in friendly trade and financial relations with the English agents at Surat and Bombay. Nearly eight years after his return to India, in a record dated 5 Jan, 1733, we find Nowroji summoned to a meeting of the Bombay Council for evidence on some charge made by the Company against Robert Cowan, the Governor and President at Bombay,<sup>2</sup> as may be seen from the following entry in the Diary:

'Bombay, 5th January, 1732-33. Questions asked to Nowroji by the President relating to his charge.

'The President acquaints the Board that the better to enable him to make his answer to the charge exhibited against him in England for malversation, he has occasion to ask Nowrojee Rustomjee some questions relating to the said charge, and desires the concurrence of the Board that Nowrojee may be called in, which being granted, Nowrojee is accordingly called in, and asked whether he ever made any proposals to him, the President, for liberty to coin any copper in the Hon'ble Company's Mint, and whether he offered any gratuity or advantage to the Hon'ble Company for such a liberty, to which he answers that he never did make any such proposal nor did offer any gratuity.

The English Records show that, throughout the year 1733, which was to be the last of his life, Nowroji was fully engaged in business activities at Bombay along with his Hindu partner, Shivji Dharamseth. Thus on Feb. 20, these two are mentioned as the highest bidders for

<sup>1.</sup> Ibid., 116.

<sup>2.</sup> Robert Cowan was President and Governor at Bombay, in succession to William Phipps, from 1728 to 1734, when he was dismissed from the Company's service.

a consignment of sugar-candy wihich had arrived by the Compton and had been put up for sale at Bombay. A month later, they proposed to take off all the lead, which had been received by another ship, at eight rupees two quarters 'the pucca maund.' On Sep. 21 of the same year, Nowroji submitted a petition on behalf of one Jeremiah Bonnell to the effect that, though the latter had paid a duty of three rupees per candy on 20 candis of pepper at Tellicherry, the said duty had again been demanded at Bombay and paid there. The petitioner, therefore, prayed that this amount may be repaid to Mr. Bonnell on his producing the certificate of the duty having been paid at Tellicherry. This request was granted. A week later, on Sept. 28, Nowroji and his partner requested a loan of Rs. 1,20,000 from the Company's treasury for one year, on condition of their paying off the remainder of a loan of Rs. 84,000 which had been formerly made to them, along with the interest due thereon. As there was more cash in the treasury than was required at the time, it was agreed to lend them the sum desired on their entering into a bond jointly and severally for paying off the original loan. The last reference we have to Nowroji is found in the Bombay Diary for Dec., 1733, and it refers to news received from the Surat Council that a report had been industriously circulated all over that town that Nowroji Rustomji had lost, in various concerns at Bombay, one hundred thousand rupees, and that the President at Bombay had likewise forced from him forty thousand rupees. This had led to a rush from his creditors on his son Manekji at Surat, who had a busy time paying them off; and had not several merchants of substance assisted him, 'Nowroji's credit would have been utterly ruined'. The rumour had been falsely and maliciously spread by Nowroji's enemies, and one of them, named Shivdas Parakh, a partner of Framji's two sons, 'being charged with it, had made himself scarce.'

After his return from England, Nowroji appears to have lived with his family mostly in Bombay till his death:

Nowroji's death:
he provides for a fire-temple

1733.¹ He was a leading member of the freshly constituted Parsi Panchayat at this place and

<sup>1.</sup> There is no reference to Nowroji's activities in the English Records after

helped to put its constitution on a sound basis. A hill in the Mazagon locality in Bombay, acquired by his son Manekji, was named after him and was for generations known as 'Nowroji Hill', until, owing to its becoming overcrowded, it was acquired between 1908-11 by the City Improvement Trust of Bombay and the entire area was levelled to the ground. Shortly after Nowroji's death, his son Manekji petitioned Governor Horne and Council at Bombay to grant a piece of land, free of ground and quit-rent, for the purpose of building a fire-temple for the Parsis residing within the Fort walls, for which provision had been made in Nowroji's will. This request was granted, as will be seen from the following interesting document, dated 2nd August 1735, in the possession of Nowroji's descendants:

'Whereas, Monackjee Nowrojee, son of Nowrojee Rustomjee, deceased, hath by petition represented to us, the President and Council for all affairs of the United Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies on the coast of India, Persia and Arabia, that he intends to build a church, or place of religious worship, for the caste of Parsees, for which purpose his said Father, by his last will and testament, did demise and set apart a certain sum to be applied solely to that use; and the said Monackjee Nowrojee also representing that paying the duty of ground and quit rent is a great discouragement to the undertaking, we, taking the same into consideration, and being willing to promote so good a design, as such a place of worship is much wanted in this town, have thought proper to relinquish the said duty of ground and quit rent, and by these presents do accordingly quit claim to the said Monackjee Nowrojee, his heirs and assigns, for ever on account of the said duty of ground and quit rent xxx This 2nd day of August in the ninth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second ... Annoque Domini one thousand seven hundred and thirty-five. By order of the Hon'ble John Horne, etc.'

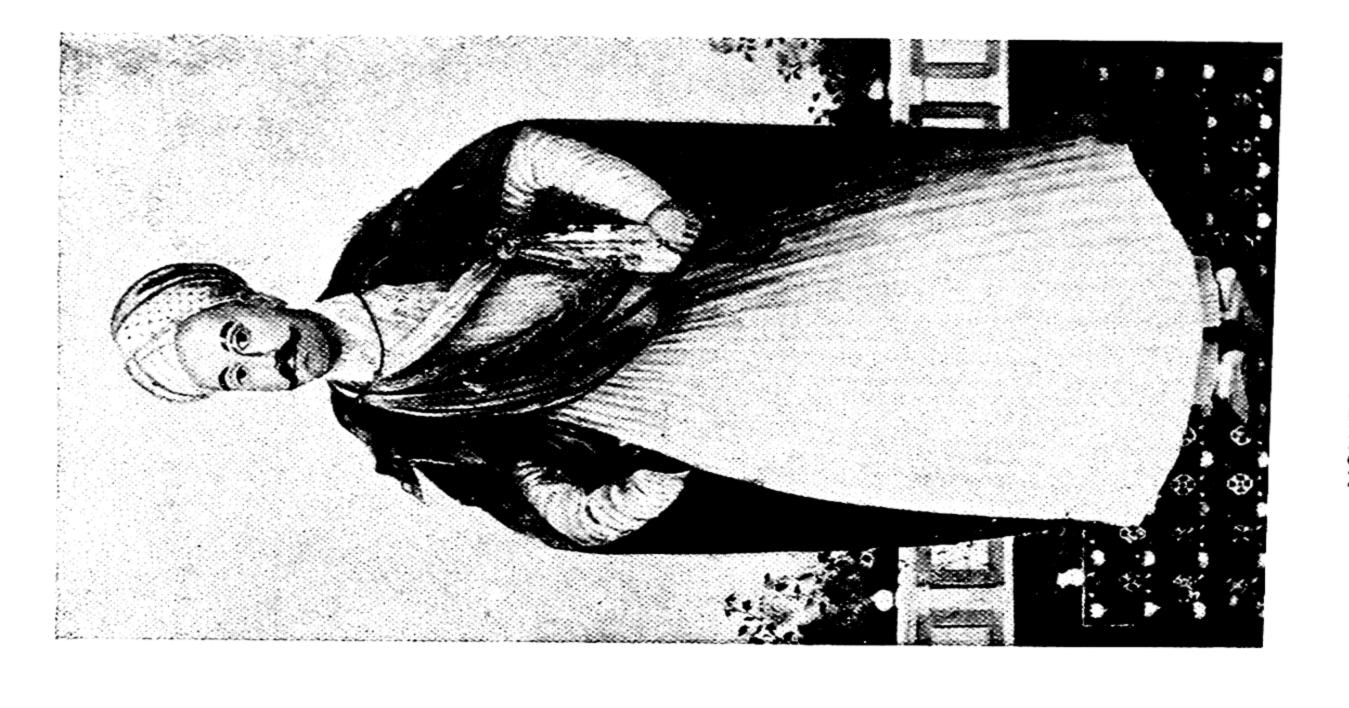
Dec. 1733 and we may presume that he died shortly after this date. It will be seen from this paper that the dates in the Christian era given by the late Mr. B. B. Patell in the Parsi Prakash for the death of Rustomji Manekji and his son Nowroji are not correct, and do not agree with the more exact information gathered from the E. I. Company's Records.

<sup>1.</sup> S. K. Hodivala, History of the Seth Khandan, 128-24.

The fire-temple mentined above was constructed, probably in 1735, by Manekji, the only son of Nowroji, under the terms of his father's will. It is situated in the locality called the Parsi Bazar in the Fort area of Bombay and has for generations been known as 'Manekji Seth's Agiary'. Though renovations made at great expense in 1891 have completely modernised its appearance, it still remains one of the oldest places of worship used by the Parsis in Bombay.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1.</sup> These renovations were carried out in 1891 by the late Mr. Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth at a cost of eighty thousand rupees, and the temple was thus almost entirely rebuilt.





RUSTOMJI MANEKJI

Parsi magnate of Surat. d. 31 July 1719

NOWROJI RUSTOMJI Visited England, 1724-25 d. at Bombay, c. 1734

(Courtesy, the late Mr. Kavasji Jalbhoy Seth)

Our Tresident and Councill of Bombay

Sondon the 19 Aug 1724

Wee the Court of Directors of the United Company Company of Merchank of England Frading to the East Indies send this to acquaint you That by the Fing George lately arrived and the Stankope which came in Sometime before the have received you devirall packets and advices guing les an account of our Affairs under your Minagement with the reasons of your proceedings, We observe in you Letters by the though George That the Governous of Twatto and the Herchank — thinks it very reasonable, that the late Brokers should give les Sakifaction as to all just Demands upon them, which as you have wrotells is what you desire, and would be content with the proof of even from their own Books Caccounts, & to Submit any Matters of difference that may arise To the O Determination of the Merchants of Suratt to be mutually Choven by the said Brokers & you, for them to Conclude Viettle thesames

We find in the Letter by the King George That frample is in Gustody at the Surate Durbar, and Bomanyee remains Confined to his bouse at Bombay, former. Letters gave be eyor reasons whey you did not then think it proper to let him go of the foland.

The Salisbury Man of War which arrived at Spithead the later end of aprill last brought Nonrage from Swatt, he is sma come up hither, and hath laid before its severalle papers and accounts which are Ordaid to be perused and takin into Consideration!

Among other papers he gave the one Entitled the Case of the France in Close for won it of wratt, wherein he represents That this was occasioned by the Longlish Chief Mo Hope to afterwards the for Convans to Convans to Convening application to Momeen Caun the Suratt — Gov and by a Letter delivered to him wrote by Governor Shipps on which France was at first Confined, then Guards set on his Father Pristy was at first Confined, then Guards set on his Jather Prustumpers from from Fifty Thousand lupes and also Two-bundred rupes a day leave to Supply the people of the Brown we provisions to Water and besides all their bardfrips he has undergon Confirmate pushingents.

We are apt to think this Case is greatly aggravated \_
or ut least that the Governoist proceeded to tigorous treatment
to Oblige France to come to a fair according to the
Custome of the Country, which was at first Curtly derived to be \_
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with

But however the Case be, He have at Nowrages request convented & agreed, and do hereby direct bedriet That you do give leave to Commangee, if he do get remain at Bombay to go to Surat rothenever he pleases without dilag, & That you do to Sindeavour by proper applycations to the Governour of Surat to get Transpersulessed from Confinements, and the Guards taken of from his late Tathers bound, Our desires being to med all differences amically for We would not have him Opposest?

We have at Nowrajees desiring wenthm Six Letters, all-of the same Texor with this, This as he subside to send them-contained, if any should this corry, the rest in ay come Safe and a Earlyer than by the Shipping directly from hence, for they will not that the proper Season by which you may laper an always to your Letter now before it, We are

Gown Eccleston Elarisson Collection Collection of Statistics of the Adulting Statistics of the Adulting Statistics of the Maris worth of the Billers of Statistics of The Budson Can fail of the Control 
Honble Say

I humbly take liberty to represent to this honble Court That mr proby some Days some arrofted me on an old but unceasinable metence of an account between hom and my late Jathor, That he Horcations to try all possible methods to delans me because he knows the Ships on which I have yothon " leave to goturn is about Departing That I have reason to apprehend Commodore mathews or some others will extreavour to stop me also by a Writ, ne exect regno Wherefore Thumbly request yor. hon" will be favourably pleafed to merpole in my behalf, and prevent their defigns, and if it be necessary That any Security should be required for this purpose That your hon's well Cause it to be given, for which Ido hereby engage my belf to Indemnify yor Konows and do confent that the amount thereof shall be deducted out of the money payable to my -Brothers and me by Vertue of the award labely \_\_

Part Judia House 12. M. march 1725.

Sport from most obest Symost humd Sens

Nourojes Austingee



Meß Framice Rustumica.
Bomanje Rustumico

phase received for Leveral Letters, and \_ Waters: ofnd Shank you did normy to Fonds Newrofee to England without as Letter of attorney for sent for frances after the En Ish miner, neither a going bond by from the aiginal Comes, while was the prost material things wanting - Those to the ut most of my forour helped and a sisted Herotojee in 48. affair, and have been of greater bioice than any body could have been hores, as fordios Newrope porte do me the justice to Signify to Gou - rolatora Weror jew hath done in this concered hoth been by my advice, he always. consulted roth me, and flow both him what was neupany & propose to be dones - And as have been taken relationg to this Bafines it will greatly body what methods have been taken relationg to this Bafines it will greatly Were how bore dispute the particulars Newvojee with acquaint you with I whith dispute france made an end of hore, and they have given a General release to each other Go Brothe Newroja hath paid the money due to me far consulage and Intellet, and flave given him a receipt for the fame france thereigh agreed with Hororojee that incases my Attorney in Price hound have builded This moreon frame the of you No Thomas Waters has back the morrey to you with Intout nearing to the full come of Indication france weite to file -Waters & ordered bin So to do - Theor adoused of New rejee, and to have Several Gents hove that you there Brothers haved live anically & praceally malf you affairs, because in a very has hime for love hope. the from frame rock ampley you all jointly as the Broke as w promises by my own, and Nowronces goods Freins Roce, but if any dispute has prens among you then you will ruin go trufines - Snee Newrojees comeing to England he hath been very ill, but he hath taken great frimo in this brifings, was every

Facsimile of a Letter, dated 25 March 1725, from Charles Boone, ex-Governor of Bombay, to Framji and Bamanji, the sons of Rustomji, at Bombay.

body how hath great value and esteem for hom . Because he hath manages this affair to the Salis faction of the from ton Company, and for the Good by heart. of this Brothers and ramily, there fre you ought to make frim a handfome present fahis long & fatiging boyages & Good Services Julyo. Quount dated Sept jot 1722 Gon Raveda with Thisteen hundred Twenty Two Bupers by for forming in on Twenty har Thousand Four hundred Suffy Sight Auprels 33. (25 fent toM Hope as vice forsul, this rant allow therefore hope low with recom it with Intout . For Spromis: Millogo only on what he frost color houself by which means fundaisino be was Lewily, whereas had not be affaired taken a favourable hun, my consulage must have been let , by me Hopes neglething my orders - There ordered my Attorney to receive back from In Hope what coes he has So follacionsly charged in famer Quounts and & hope for 35 a fistance as shall reliety Some you in England Junderstond Mo Hope has not facted me for the Williams consulage and Some others hips on pretence that they belong - ado to for promys of ervants; the formpany gave mestre whate perguisite without any exception, and the excuseing the ferounts of Bombay or Surab roces a voluntary act and designed only as an encourage ment to Gowing Freguess, for Seite insifted to huos it from in Socks, other wise the name of a fom france & Eroant might cover many Caego's as Mo Hopehas dones, this the believe rock enquire into and if he applys to you for you apristance in mine I have made my Atto on his own affairs; frank my selfly will give him what your are able \_\_\_ freemand you to the divine plovidence and are Mo Watoes, M. James m. Lambton, on Touther are all my Freinds, whom Idenie In with a fist as occapion Serves London march 25 1725

## ON SANSKRIT PRIYA-VĀSAS- "WIFE"

By S. M. KATRE, POONA.

My attention to this word priya-vāsas 'wife' was drawn by Mrs. Iravati Karve's paper 'Kinship Terms and the Family Organisation as found in the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata' published in the V. S. Sukthankar Memorial Volume of the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute (vol. 5, page 103). So far this curious word is not recorded in any of the published Sanskrit Dictionaries, and very little information is available on its usage.

The passage where it appears in the critical edition of the Adiparvan is 1.70.28cd: Nahuso janayāmāsa sat putrān  $priyav\bar{a}$ sasi The apparatus criticus records the following variants for  $priyav\bar{a}sasi$ : Dn D<sub>1.4</sub>  $priyav\bar{a}dinah$ ; D<sub>3</sub> T<sub>1</sub>  $priyay\bar{a}$  saha; T<sub>2</sub> G<sub>1.4.5</sub>  $-v\bar{a}savah$ ; G<sub>2</sub> M<sub>5</sub>  $v\bar{a}sasah$ ; G<sub>3</sub>  $-v\bar{a}n$  api; G<sub>6</sub>  $-v\bar{a}savih$ . A study of these variant readings suggests that the original  $priyav\bar{a}sasi$  was found to be a lectio difficilior which these manuscripts tried to get rid of, showing that the usage was rather unknown to the scribes or redactors of the different versions of the Mahābhārata. This is not surprising, since no previous occurrence of this word has been recorded in any of the existing dictionaries.

First with regard to sense: the context definitely suggests that  $priyav\bar{a}sas$  is used in the sense of 'wife'. Literally the word means 'one wearing beautiful apparel' or 'one whose apparel is dear (to the subject)' but it appears to be specialised here in the sense of 'wife'. In this particular significance we have to seek for parallels, not in classical Sanskrit literature, but in Vedic, and particularly in the Rgveda. A significant term found in RV is  $suv\bar{a}sas$  which, in its masculine form, appears in conjunction with yuvan:

RV 3.8.4 yúvā suvāsāh pàrivīta ágāt sa u šréyān bhavati jāyamānaḥ. In its feminine form, the word occurs four times in the RV with jāyā and once with vadhū; it is also found once with sindhu.

## (a) RV 1.124.7

abhrātéva pumsa eti pratīcī gartārug iva sanaye dhanānām jāyéva patya usatī suvāsā usā hasréva ni riņīte apsah Geldner translates this passage as follows:

Wie ein bruderloses Mädschen kommt sie Männern entgegen, sie gleicht einer, die die Schaubühne besteigt um Schätze zu gewinnen

Schöngekleidet wie ein verlangendes Weib für den Gatten, entblösst Usas ihre Brust wie eine Buhlerin."

The second line contains a refrain jāyéva pátya uśati  $suv\bar{a}s\bar{a}$  which is repeated at RV 4.3.2b, 10.71.4d; 91, 13d.

The next passage is RV 10. 107.9:

bhojá jigyuh surabhím yónim àgre bhojá jigyur vadhvám yá suvásāh

bhojá jigyur antahpéyam súrāyā bhojá jigyur yé àhūtāḥ prayànti.

It is clear from these passages that the word  $suv\bar{a}sas$  has special affinities with  $j\bar{a}y\bar{a}$  or  $vadh\bar{u}$ , or in other words the young wife who is the true beloved.

In classical Sanskrit the word  $suv\bar{a}sin\bar{\imath}$  is used for a married or unmarried woman who resides at her father's place and later develops the sense of a woman whose husband is alive'. But evidently words having  $v\bar{a}sas$  at the end of a compound expression, appear to be little used in later Sanskrit. The following words are recorded in the Petersbusg Dictionary:

kaupīna-vāsas 'undergarment' Rajatarangini 4, 180. adhovāsas ibid Uttarar. 82, 9 (106, 1).

At the end of an adjectival compound in:

śuci $v\bar{a}sas$  'clothed in pure or bright garments' Aśv. Grhy. 2,2,2; R. 1,6,13.

susūkṣmāmbaravāsas MBh. 1,5975, Suśruta 1,105,5.6. pītakauśeyavāsas Chandomanj. 74. taḍidvāsas BhaP 1,12,8.

 $raktav\bar{a}sas$ ,  $kṛṣṇav\bar{a}sas$ ,  $dṛumac\bar{\imath}rav\bar{a}sas$ ,  $c\bar{\imath}ravalkalav\bar{a}sas$ ,  $valkalav\bar{a}sas$ ,  $i\bar{\imath}rnamalavadv\bar{a}sas$ ,  $laghuv\bar{a}sas$ ,

āhatavāsas āmuktavāsas, parivartitavāsas, vītavāsas, ārdravāsas, ekavāsas. None of these vocable are attested earlier than epic or sūtra literature.

Where vāsas means 'clothing' or feathers of an arrow, we have the following compounds:  $kankav\bar{a}sas$ ,  $barhinav\bar{a}sas$ ,  $kanka*barhinav\bar{a}sas$ ,  $kalahamsav\bar{a}sas$  and  $dirghav\bar{a}sas$ , all recorded as from the Great Epic of India.

The following words have special substantive significances:  $antarv\bar{a}sas$  'inner or under-garment'.

 $udv\bar{a}sas$  'one who has put of clothes' (said of a woman who has put off her soiled clothes after her period of impurity).

kṛttivāsas 'covered with skins', Rudra or Śiva.

gardhravāsas said of an arrow covered with vulture's feathers. dantavāsas 'a lip'.

digvāsas 'naked mendicant' cf. digambara.

durvāsas 'badly clad', N. pr. of a sage.

nılavāsas the planet Saturn.

parivāsas 'upper garment' (?)

pitavāsas N. pr. of Visņu.

barhivāsas N. pr. of Skanda.

bhikṣāvāsas beggar's garment.

 $malodv\bar{a}sas$  'a woman who has put off her soiled clothes (after her impurity)'.

meghavāsas N. pr. of a daitya or demon.

rātrivāsas 'night dress; darkness.'

vavrivāsas 'dwelling in the body.'

valavāsas 'garment of hair'.

It will be clear from a discussion of the term suvāsas that though it has ultimately disappeared from classical Sanskrit literature either as an adjective or as a substantive, it has left an early trace in the Mahābhārata priyavāsas used exactly in the same significance of a 'lawful or wedded wife'. It would be an interesting thing if parallels are to be found in Iranian or other Indo-European languages for such expressions to indicate the concept of 'wife'.

## THE DEVAS AND THE ASURAS.

## V. G. PARANJPE.

Between the Rgveda and the Avesta as between the Rgvedic and the Avestic peoples are to be seen many resemblances, not the least being that in regard to the vicissitudes of their fortunes. The Rgveda like the Old Avesta, as the sequel will show, forms the remnant of an enormous wreckage. The two peoples, going out by an unknown providential arrangement in diverse paths from their common home, were destined to meet twice on the Indian soil in two different capacities. Their destinies, let us hope, have now been linked together for eternity.

It is, therefore, worth while investigating the question whether they separated in the prehistoric times as the result of a religious Haug was the first to give a systematic exposition of the theory of the Avesta being a religious revolt against the Vedic polytheism and bases his argument mainly on the degradation of the meaning of Asura in the Veda and of Deva, Indra, Nāsatyā and Sarva in the Avesta into that of demons. Darmesteter in his Introduction to the Translation of the Zend-Avesta, part I (S. B. E., IV, pp. xxix and lxxix-lxxxi) has given convincing arguments to refute the theory in so far as the words Asura and Sarva go; but his arguments to explain away the inference from the use of the words Deva, Indra and Nāsatyā in the sense of demons is not convincing. The same theory has in a manner been restated by Hertel, who holds that the Vedic Aryans and the Avestic people lived in contiguous provinces, that the Vedic Aryans under the protection of their gods, to whom they offered animal sacrifices, carried on cattle-lifting raids against the Avestic people, and that therefore Zaraθuśtra (Z.) opposed the Deva-worship (I. I. Q. F. IX, pp. 8, 55, 85, 203, 249) and that the Vedic Aryans, on the other hand, levelled the epithets devanid and brahmadvis against the Avestic people (I. I. Q. F. I. 58, 62, IX,248; also I. F. 41, p. 188). It is to be noted that Hertel does not attach any importance to the change of the meaning of 'Asura' in the Veda.

The problem of the interrelations of the Vedic and Avestic peoples is complicated by its intimate connection with many other

problems. Since, according to both Haug and Hertel, the Regredic and Avestic peoples lived in contiguous provinces when Zarabustra the reformer arose, we must ascertain the date of Zarabustra and see whether this date can be accepted as the date of the Rgveda; if not, with what stage of the history of the Vedic people it would coincide. The Vedic Varuna, who has his counterpart in Ahura Mazdah in the Avesta, reappears as Varuna in the Boghazköi inscription of 1380 B C. and the Mitanni king worshipped Indra and the Nāsatyā, regarded as demons in the Avesta. What would be the bearings of these facts on the question of the migrations of the Indo-European race and the dates of the Rigurda and the Avesta? The meaning of the word Asura has changed in some of the late hymns of the Rgveda and in the later Vedic literature. If the conflict between the Devas and the Asuras represents a historical conflict between the Indian Aryans and their opponents and if the Asuras, who have characteristics differentiating them from the Dasyus, have to be regarded as a foreign people to India, who were they and have they anything to do with the Avestic people?

Excavations in Sind and in adjacent regions have opened out a new field of research and already a voluminous literature\* has been published in and around the subject of the Indus Valley civilization, or better, the Harappa civilization. Who were the people to whom the civilization belonged? Were they natives of the land or foreigners? What were their relations with other inhabitants of India such as the Vedic Aryans, the Dravidians, the Proto-mundas and the original inhabitants of India, whosoever they were? These are questions some of which have already exercised the ingenuity of scholars and which will have to be satisfactorily answered if we are to have a real solution of the problem before us.

It is impossible to examine here all these questions in a detailed manner. All that can be done is to indicate the conclusions and to summarise the facts and the arguments on which they are based.

This article, having been written seven years ago, has already lost touch with recent research.—v.g.p.

The date of the prophet Zaraoustra is placed by some scholars about 600 B. C. and by others about 1000-1200 B. C. Even with this latter date the close affinities between the Rgvedic and Avestic languages will constitute a serious obstacle, in the opinion of some, in the way of a much older date for the Rgveda than 1200 B. C. The linguistic affinities between the Rgveda and the Sanskrit literature of the fourth or fifth century B. C. would themselves be in their opinion, an equally valid argument against an older date for the Rgveda.

The present writer, however, holds the oldest portions of the Rgveda to belong to a date earlier than 2000 B. C. The linguistic arguments urged against such an early date by scholars like Keith and West can be answered in two ways.

Meillet, himself an exponent of a late date for the Reveda, has mentioned the conditions under which a language may preserve itself from decay for a long time. In his 'Trois Conferences sur les Gāthās &c.' he says that 'there is no standard for the time in which languages change; a literary language may persist substantial modification for centuries. He further observes that ruling aristocracies tend to preserve their speech jealously. The African languages, it appears, have not changed much during centuries. The Sanskrit sayings न हि दष्टे अनुपपन्नं नाम and स्थितस्य गतिश्चिन्तनीया are applicable to the long course of life run by Sanskrit and old Iranian. We have to investigate further the laws governing linguistic change if on independent grounds a language has to be admitted as having been preserved for a long time without substantial change. Political conditions are ordinarily as unstable as language and ordinarily no royal dynasty has continued on the continent of Europe or elsewhere for more than a century or two, and yet this has not prevented England from having an unbroken succession of kings for nine centuries. The insular position of India, the hierarchy of Brāhmans and the assiduous cultivation of linguistic studies may account for the long preservation of Sanskrit as a spoken language.

Secondly, the Rgveda of to-day represents its form as it was fixed about 500 B.C.. It is by no means the case that the Vedic speech had remained stagnant. The Rk-Prātiśākhya

(rules\* 185, 199, 200, 206, 208, 223, 231, 232, 396-404, 412, 426-429, 430-32, 760-810) mentions divergent manners of pronunciation of accents, of vowels and even of some conjunct consonants in its own times. There is every reason to believe that in the period of the Asura domination of India, to be mentioned later on, the pronunciation of Sanskrit changed considerably from what it was in the early Rgvedic period. The cerebrals, which did not belong to the Indo-Iranian, were probably introduced under the Asura influence and the old z and zh, the diphthongs and short e and short o disappeared, so that the present Rgveda is as much a modernised version as is Peisistratus' Homer or Ekanātha's Jñaneśvarī. The Avesta, in fact, has retained features of the old language, not preserved by the Rgveda.

The Mitanni people represent a colony of Indo-Iranians among peoples of diverse races just like the ancient Iranians or the Vedic Indians. Their presence in Asia Minor is no proof for the date of Indo-European migrations. That their gods correspond more with the Indian than the Iranian gods will at the most show that the change in the Iranian outlook came after 1400 B. C.

According to all indications the followers of Zarabuśtra did not come into contact with Indians until after 500 B. C. and hence they could not have been designated as Asuras.

Diverse theories are now in the field in regard to the Harappa civilization, some of the most important of which may be summarised as follows:

- (i) The H. C. was an autochthonous civilization of India and the race which developed it received later on into its fold foreign priests, the Vedic Brāhmans, who were heirs to another civilization altogether.
- (ii) The Rgvedic civilization, which is an Indian civilization and of a people who, even if they had a foreign origin, had no memory of it, is prior to the H. C. The former is a pastoral civilization while the latter is an urban and commercial civilization with a developed art of writing, which was unknown to the Vedic people.

Max-Müller's Edn.

(iii) The H. C. was a foreign civilization, brought with them to India by a people who had affinities with the civilizations of Elam and Sumer, and who were later on either overrun by the Aryans or, in the alternative, who had already disappeared from the Indus Valley and the regions around on account of certain unknown causes before the advent of the Vedic Aryans. They were the Proto-Dravidians different from the Mundas and the aboriginal people of India.

Hypotheses (ii) and (iii) are not mutually exclusive; they can be combined. The present writer would submit, on the basis of a combination of the two, excluding the alternative in (iii), a new hypothesis for the consideration of scholars. As is the nature of all hypotheses, this hypothesis itself will become a proof only when it satisfactorily accounts for all facts which are otherwise unaccountable. It is as follows:

While the Indo-Europeans were in occupation of the broad tract stretching from Asia Minor to the Punjab, a people, whom the Vedic Aryans called Asuras on account of the occurrence of a word resembling the word Asura in the names of their gods or their own proper names, but who, though probably of the same stock as the Assyrians, were not Assyrians, invaded from the north, the west and the south the Vedic Aryans, who had already conquered the Punjab and other surrounding regions from the snub-nosed, dark-coloured Dasyus. The Vedic Aryans were driven by these former into the mountain ranges of the North-East. The invaders remained in possession for long years, at the end of which period the Aryans, who had organised themselves in the meanwhile, defeated them and either absorbed them into their own stock or drove them out to other regions. This wedge of Asuras separated the Indian Aryans from the Aryans of Iran and probably changed the history of the latter as much as that of the Vedic Aryans.

The evidence in support may be stated as follows, the first item being given in detail on account of the neglect into which it has fallen.

(i) The arrangement of the hymns of the Rgveda into the Rk-Samhitā presupposes the ravages of war and a subsequent effort in an epoch of peace to gather together the remnants of the

past. The compilation of the Samhitā was a slow process which probably extended over centuries of years. The researches of Bergaigne (J. As. 1886 Sept.-Oct, pp. 193-271, and J. As. 1887 Feb.-Mar, pp. 191-287), who himself took his cue from the writings of Delbrück, Grassmann and Oldenberg, show that the compilers of the original Samhitā had scrupulously followed certain principles in arranging the hymns: the rsi order, the deity order, the metrical order. Within each rsi group the hymns were arranged into deity-groups, the deity-groups being arranged in the descending order according to the length of the hymns. Among hymns of the same length the longer metres were given priority. Thus new material inserted into the old Samihitā can be detected as such on account of its disturbance of these principles of arrangement.

Portions of Maṇḍala 1 and Maṇḍalas II - VII follow this arrangement. Maṇḍalas VIII and IX follow other principles, while portions of Maṇḍala 1 and Maṇḍala X appear to have been added much later. All these of course have received later additions.

The Samhitā, which originally consisted of ten Maṇḍalas or hymn-cycles, was subsequently for study-purposes divided presumably into eight equal portions, subdivided each into eight approximately equal adhyāyas, the integrity of the maṇḍalas not being taken into account for this division. There was later on a subdivision of the maṇḍalas into Anuvākas. An analysis of the adhyāyas and the anuvākas enables us to perceive that an inflation of the text, which is seen to be such on account of the normal length of an adhyāya being exceeded, does not appear to be an inflation in the anuvāka division, which led Bergaigne to conclude that the Anuvāka division was posterior to the adhyāya division and that the Samhitā had received accretions in the interval between the two divisions. This is another way how late insertions can be detected.

The original Samhitā itself shows wrong grouping of separate small hymns into a single long hymn or of isolated rks into hymns; fragments of hymns and even a fragmentary rk have been tagged on to other hymns. The compilers apparently took their material as they found it, but were not in favour of a hymn of less than three rks.

Bergaigne has given us a warning in the beginning of his first article (p. 200 n.) against thinking that a hymn inserted later was a late production. As new material was discovered it was admitted into the Samhitā. There must have been an organization like the Parsads, mentioned in the Nirukta, which did the work of scrutiny. The Vālakhilya hymns, though linguistically older than several hymns of the tenth Maṇḍala, have been admitted into the Samhitā by some schools, while other schools refused to admit them and schisms arose over the matter. The scrutiny board might have been partial to a few hymns, but apparently no surreptitious entry was possible into the canon. This systematic search for old fragments could have been made obviously when the old tradition was in danger of being lost.

- 2. The word 'Asura' in the Rgveda shows a sudden change of meaning. Whereas formerly it was a constant epithet of all the principal gods, it signifies in a few passages in the tenth mandala and some more in other mandalas, altogether not exceeding eight, 'the enemies of gods.' This new significance is clearly due to the association of the word 'asura' with a people in whose proper names the word occured in a prominent manner. The most important passage in this connection is Rv. X 124, which contains a dialogue between Agni and Indra and Varuna, in which Agni mentions that he had long dwelt among the Asuras and was willing to return to the gods, which is an indication of the long rule of the Asuras and a partial break in the institution of the sacrifice among the Vedic Aryans, followed by a restoration of it after the defeat of the Asuras.
- 3. The repeated accounts in the Brāhmaṇas of the struggle between the gods and the Asuras would show the dread and hatred in which the Asuras were held. The Asuras had a more organised civilization. They defeated the gods in all directions except the north-east. They buried their dead along with funeral offerings and theirs was a more material civilization than that of the Aryans. They succeded by lying and cheating.
- 4. It would appear from B. G. Tilak's article in the R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume that the Atharvaveda shows influences of a foreign civilization which had strong affinities with the Assyrian civilization,

- 5. The story of the Flood in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa and probably also the twenty-seven constellations in Indian astronomy were derived apparently from the same people. Other survivals of the Harappa civilization have been pointed out with a good deal of cogency by Arvamuthan in the New Ind. Anti., IV, pp. 253-70, 294-313, 319-336.
- 6. Positive proofs of a continuous civilization spreading from Elam to Sind have been unearthed by Stein, Hargreaves and Majumdar in the shape of pottery of approximately the same kind and of the same age, discovered in Sind, Beluchistan and Iran. Proofs are also forthcoming of a maritime intercourse between India and Mesopotamia with an exchange of commodities and seals. That Elam was itself the centre of the same worship as prevailed in Assyria is evidenced by the recently discovered Ziqqurat at Chogha Zambil.
- 7. The cerebralization of dentals and the loss of certain sounds in the older language connot be accounted for by the mere contact with another civilization; they are more probably the result of the domination of a foreign race. The Englishman's pronunciation has influenced the Indian's pronunciation and not vice versa.
- 8. Traces of the Harappa civilization are to be found apparently all over Western India and even inside. There are therefore good grounds for regarding it as a Proto-Dravidian civilization. This civilization could not have become extinct by the time the Aryans came to India. The Dasyus were dark and snub-nosed and had already become slaves of the Vedic Aryans (cf. the use of दास in दासप्रवर्ग्य). They could not be the dreaded Asuras of the late Vedic hymns. We have therefore to regard the arrival of the Aryans into India and the composition of the bulk of the extant Vedic hymns as anterior to the Asura invasion. The late date usually adopted for the Rgveda does not make due allowance for the growth of a vast literature over a vast area before the fourth century B. C., and above all ignores the great gulf that separates the Rgveda from the Brāhmaṇa period.
  - 9. The division of the Aryans in India into the priestly caste, the warrior caste and traders and husbandmen emerges all of a sudden in a manifestly late hymn of the Rgveda, RV. X.

90 The very abruptness of this change in the social order would point to an epoch of struggle which created a specialised class of fighters; and a keen, almost overpowering, impulse to preserve whatever could be preserved of the old literature and the sacrificial ritual of their ancestors, it would appear, led to the exaltation of and the special privileges conferred upon a few families who had preserved them. The rest of the Aryans became the višah and the non-Aryans became the Śūdras in a caste-system which was destined to be a great disintegrating and demoralising force in the days to come.

If then the early Rgvedic hymns are older than 2000 B. C. and the Rgvedic people were cut off from the rest of the Aryan folk by the Asura invasion of their common home, the religious reform, inaugurated by the prophet Zarabuśtra about 1200 B. C., could be only in the midst of his own religion, which, surrounded ascit was by idolatrous beliefs, must have been in a state of disintegration. If he rejected the old gods and the old ritual in favour of a purer idea of godhead, he did for his people what the Upanisadic authors did for India at about the same time. If his purer faith suffered at the hands of his followers, that fact also has it parallel in the history of the Indian religion.

## A DIDACTIC POEM IN PAHLAVI

By Prof. Dr. J. C. Tavadia, B. A., Ph D. (Hamburg)

In a recent Bombay publication we are again reminded of "the most striking and perplexing fact of the apparent absence of poetry in Sasanian Persia." But it is no longer necessary to do this for the last so many years. The legends about the existence of lyrical pieces and poetical romances may or may not be simply legends and nothing more. But there is no doubt the actual specimens of poetic art brought to light by modern scholars. First were made known religious hymns and tracts and even seculsar pieces like the beautiful "Spring Song" from Manichean fragments discovered at Turfan in Chinese Turkistan. And then Benveniste, very probably inspired thereby, showed that the epic and narrative pieces in Pahlavi literature of Zoroastrians, like Ayātkār î Zarîrān and Draxt î Asurîk ut Buz, were not in prose, as hitherto believed, but in verse. He did the same as regards a religious text also, namely, Zandī Vahuman Yasn. All this was in early thirties. His demonstration, however, involves many drastic changes in some parts which may better be taken as prose. A mixture of prose and verse in one and the same text is not unusual. It is common in many an old Indo-European tongue, and so in Pahlavi it may be an ancient heritage. In any case, there is now no question about the existence of peetry in Sasanian Persia. On more than one occasion I drew attention to this fact in Bombay journals, and once, also accounted for the scarcity of poetical literature in this period: the cause was mainely the influence of the austere and rigid Zoroastrian church, as was also later the case with Shi'ites under the Safavids. And yet all these new researches are neglected and old comp laints or views about the absence of Sasanian poetry are repeated! So far by way of general introduction.

To those specimens of epic, narrative, and religious poetry, I can now add one of another type, namely a didactic poem. This naturally comes from what is called the Handarz literature under the Sasanids. While going through this literature in winter 1945-1946 I was struck inter alia somewhat peculiar style and rhythm in the last piece of the Pahlavi Texts edited by Asana. So I tried to find out by means of scanning whether there were any regular verses. And with the greatest ease,

without any drastic changes, there came out eight-syllable lines. The original notes being not with me at Santiniketan, I had to try this again. The result is given below as fully worked out. The few mistakes either of commission or omission I have found are certainly due to copyists, and the corrections and additions I suggest are justified not only on metrical ground but also on those of grammar and idiom, style and sense.

The whole text requires a critical study. The very heading given to it is not adequate. The piece does not deal with the Nature and Wisdom of a Fortunate Man ( $h\bar{e}m$  ut xrat  $\bar{i}$  farrox mart), but rather with several men of various qualities. Then three are all sorts of corruptions. But even by removing them I cannot show that the text is entirely in metre. It may be from the very beginning a mixture of prose and verse, or it may be even a compilation from different sources. For the present I leave this question open, and restrict myself to one of the portions in verse.

It is the clearest one, and is that in which the author speaks of himself. Unfortunately he remains anonymous, and the few details are too general to be of special interest. It should be noted that the passage occurs neither at the beginning nor at the end, but in the middle of the text, § 16. This is rather strange, and yet we are not to assume a dislocation, for it begins with  $c\bar{c}$  used for introducing a change in the subject or a new turn of thought as several times in this text. Cf. my sāyast nē sāyast..., where this usage of  $c\bar{c}$  with the meaning well, further is ascertained. The later part of § 16 I have made distinct as § 16 a; for it contains a sort of maxims, although they may have been derived from the author's experience and observation. § 17 however is again autobiographical; it refers to the fact of his enquiries, followed by the result thereof.

As to the transcription I have adhered to the present mode; but at least for ut and pat see n. 17. 1. The translation is made quite literal, and yet, I think, it has turned out readable. Of course, nobody should expect, I think high class or even mediocre poetry. It can be only rude and primitive like the verse-form.

<sup>1</sup> This is the most primitive Indo-Iranian verse form, known to us from the Yasts and similar pieces of the Avesta.

16  $\dot{c}\bar{e}$  vas raft hom and araw $\bar{a}m$ ,

vas-am vičit kustak hustak.

vas-am just hac dēn ut<sup>1</sup> mānsr,<sup>2</sup>

vas-am hać nipik ut nāmak

harthom dastowar vićārtār,

kart hom hampursakīh³ stāyītak.⁴-

16a. nē1 dit dānāk i xrat āpāt,

ne-č vicitar dit a-čarak,

 $n\bar{e}$  husrav and ar - ? - 2 $n\bar{e}$  pat  $niy\bar{a}z$  mart  $\bar{i}$  pat xrat. 16. Well, much I have advan--ced in time<sup>5</sup>

Much I have discerned<sup>6</sup> in various regions,<sup>7</sup>

Much I have searched from scriptures and sayings,

Much I (have learnt) from writings and books.

I have also taken a discerning guide,

(And) I have held praiseworthy conversations.

16.a I have not seen a sage of wisdom prosperous,

Nor seen a discerning man helpless,

Nor a famous man in -?- <sup>2</sup> Nor a man with wisdom in need<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Metre requires this common addition, and the sense is also as given above and not acriptural sayings, den-mans. To be read mansar or mansar for the sake of metre. Metre suggests hampursih, but I have retained the usual hampursakih, for it yields better rhythm. Led. has -yt-instead of -yyt-, but in § 3 and and also elsewhere the verb is stayitan. This means I am old—advanced in years as also Anklesaria gives—and not I have travelled much, although the verb is raftan. I do not know how to read the original otherwise and get from it the sense Anklesaria gives I have travelled. Very probably this is meant to be a free rendering. Or 'from region to region', in both cases the original is an adv. Thrase without any preposition. For kust (or kost) as a geographical unit, see Pakl. Texts p. 18 ff. (sahrastānihā i crānsahr) §§ 2, 21, 34 where it represents the four principal divisions of Iran.

This addition is necessary for sense and syntax as well as metre. As to sense, the statement refers to the common idea or raying that 'knowledge and money (in Sk. sidyā and śrī or lakṣmī) do not go together. The author could not have maintained, an Anklesaria translates, the opposite opinion, for which moreover, we must add something like 'always'; else the statment becomes abrupt and isolated (cf. also n. 3). As to syntax, the following nērē 'also not = nor' requires and presupposes here nē 'not = neither'; else è in nērē becomes meaningless. I do not know nor can ascertain for want of books a suitable (three-syllable) reading and meaning of the next signs an r sp n; Anklesaria's 'distress' does not seem to me suitable. This does not contradict the first statement (see n. 1), especially when we take niyāz as 'desire' instead of 'need'. There the question is of 'presperity' equience.' here of simple 'needs, want, or desire.'

17. u-m¹hanjaman dit vuzorkān

pat guft uskār ut vīr ut² xrat;

u-m<sup>1</sup> $d\bar{e}n\,dastowar\bar{a}n\,pursit$ ,

hu  $x \bar{a}stak v\bar{e}h a s\bar{a}p^3 h\bar{e}m$ xrat?

18. u-š $\overline{a}n^1$  pat h $am\overline{a}k$  č $\overline{a}$ štak guft,

ku nām-barišnīh hač² zōr³ i xart.

čē x āstak ut ganj i †amar

hēm pahrēčēt ut xrat dārēt

17. And I saw an assembly of the great

With speeches and discusions, intellect and wisdom; And I asked the leaders of Religion,

Namely, is wealth better or good-nature and wisdom?

18. And they said according to all the teachings,

That the bearing of name (= fame) is by the strength of wisdom.

Further,<sup>5</sup> the innumerable wealth and treasure Good-nature protects and wisdom preserves.

- 17. The reading ut-am disturbs the metre and especially in the recond care also the rhythm. This shows that we have to read u and pa instead of ut and pat in our texts which are evidently late Sasanian. I have added this for the sake of metre, but it can be dispensed with in the light of style and also rhythm. I stick to this reading introduced by Bartholomae. Nyberg proposes aivāp, which does not properly represent atvā api on the one hand and ayā on the other. Bailey, Zor. Prob. 36 etc., reads ayāp, but I do not know on what grounds I this is the etymological sense of vēh < vahyah of. apartar ut vēh higher (superior) and better', PT 25 § 1; and the common phrases vāy ī veh and vāy ī vattar, where vēh is used along with other comparatives.
- One can read also  $ut \cdot \tilde{san}$ , but not  $ut a\tilde{san}$ , see 17 n. 1. <sup>2</sup> Ed. has i, a clerical mistake due to the preceeding ih: whereas the sense requires a preposition, pat or hac. The latter is often missing in our text (see §§ 1, 3) probably due, I think, to the obscure script in which m and n are almost overlapped, and hence misunderstood and omitted by a a copyist. By its insertion the line becomes a nine-syllable one; yet I have not thought it necessary to omit ku or i. Rhythm, I feel, is not disturbed. Written as often like  $z\bar{o}hr$ . 4 Ed. omits. Thus in the special sense, and not in the usual one because; for the statement does not give a reason for the preceding one,—else we must assume a lacuna. It should be noted that the question in § 17 is not directly replied in §§ 18 and 19, wherein are rather given three different sayings more or less related to it

19 pat mart x tītīh ī xrat vēhtar,

 $hand ar{o}xt^2 ar{i} \ par{e}\dot{s}ak \ ar\dot{j} ar{o}mand-tar$ 

 $ut^3x^*\bar{a}stak\ i^4h\bar{e}m^5\ pahlom-tar^6$ 

19 For man the welfare of wisdom is better,

The 'collection' of a profession is more valuable,

And<sup>3</sup> the wealth of goodnature is more excellent.

<sup>19</sup> Not only the metre but also the other comparative forms at the end of the following lines suggest  $v\bar{v}htar$  for  $v\bar{v}h$ ; futher see n. 6. First I thought this to be a mistake for  $\bar{u}m\bar{v}t$  'learning'; but that would spoil the symmetry of the idea, which is about 'acquiring or collecting' wealth and other things compared with it.—The line has again nine syllables but mark the usual rhythm. 3 Ed. has  $\bar{v}\bar{v}$ , which may be retained in the sense of 'further'; but I think ut 'and' is here more natural. The line is corrupt as regards other words also, see n. 4.6. Ed. omits, a common mistake in mss. Ed. adds i ham-uskār arat, which phrase does not suit the context here and disturbs the metre too. Anklesaria has not translated this \( \xi \) in his summary; hence his view about the phrase remains unknown. As suggested in Ed. n. 53; pahartar (?) 'more protective' (?) does not suit the context.—It should be noted that all these comparetive forms are used in the emphatic or superlative sense, and the translation may be changed accordingly.

## DIVINATION BY THE DĪWĀN OF ḤĀFIZ

BY KHAN BAHADUR PROFESSOR SHAIKH ABDUL-KADIR-E-SARFARAZ

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"بلبل کلش راز خواجم حافظ شیراز دیوان هدایت نشانش چمنی است از چشمم سار لسان الغیب 'خرّم ز حرفش عیان خوب و زشت همم کلامش بود سر نوشت همم" (ملاطغرای مشهدی)

"The Nightingale of the Garden of Mysteries, Khwaja Hāfiz of Shīrāz... his Dīwān, bearing the marks of Guidance, is a Flower-bed (kept fresh and) blooming (by waters flowing) from the Fountain of 'Lisānu'l-Ghayb' ('The Tongue of the Uṇseen') ... From its Letters are manifest the good and bad (qualities of the destiny) of all; his Speech is (an embodiment of) the Fate-script of all." (Mullā Ṭughrā of Mashhad).

Who has not heard the name of Hāfiz of Shīrāz, the greatest Ghazal-writer of Persia? His enchanting odes enjoy a world-wide reputation. They are taught in Madrasas and Dāru'l-'Ulūms, in schools and colleges, in the East and the West, are chanted in streets and stalls, on hills and in halls, and are universally enjoyed in private and in public by persons belonging to all grades of society rich and poor, literate and illiterate, without distinction of age or sex, or creed or colour. There is hardly any aspect of love, human or superhuman, which is not envisaged in these odes. Nor is there any feeling that pulsates a lover's heart but finds an adequate expression in the poet's inimitable verse. In fact the whole range of human life—from the cradle to the grave, nay even from preceding stages to succeeding ones, in all its manifold aspects that are controlled and regulated by Almighty Love—is contemplated in the odes in the light of profound wisdom, and the questions that arise from a comtemplation of human life are weighed and decided once for all. His clear judgments, based on universal truths, are expressed in language so fascinating that every one, who understands it, fails not to adore it as inspired and prophetic.

Though his  $Diw\bar{a}n$  has often been consulted in the past, is being consulted at present, and will continue to be consulted in future as an infallible oracle foretelling the future, yet few persons know how this 'consultation' or 'divination', or 'omen-taking' ( $f\bar{a}l$ - $g\bar{i}r\bar{i}$ ) is effected. It is proposed to explain this method here, as briefly as possible, and to treat it from a popular point of view.

Before attempting an explanation of this method, a few introductory remarks, which may prove interesting as well as instructive will, it is hoped, not be out of place.

Almost all ancient peoples, both in the East and West, practised the art of divination by means of omens taken from the movements of animals, the flights and cries of birds, and even the throbbings of different parts of the human body. Words uttered by Prophets and High Priests, as also the writings of poets (who in pre-Islamic Arabia were believed to be guided by supernatural beings), were regarded as infallible interpretations of the mysteries of the future and often consulted as oracles, In ancient Arabia, before the days of Islam, the Arabs attached much importance to bird-augury ('tiyāra'), which was repudiated and prohibited by Islam. The word 'tiyāra' consequently came to mean 'taking bad omens', as distinguished from ' $f\bar{a}l$ ', which meant 'taking good omens' and which was approved of by the Prophet. In course of time the Qur'an itself came to be consulted for the purposes of ' $f\bar{a}l$ ,' and various artificial methods, simple as well as complicated, were invented for divination by the Qur'an. They are still in vogue. Some of the simple ones are the following: The enquirer makes up his mind to put a question and repeats three times the opening chapter of the Qur'an and the fifty-ninth verse of the Sixth chapter: \* "With Him are the keys of the Unseen, the treasures that none knoweth but He. He knoweth whatever there is on the earth and in the sea. Not a leaf doth fall But with His knowledge: There is not a grain in the darkness (or depths) of the

Commenting on this passage Mr. Abdullah Yusuf Ali, M. A., LL. M., I. C. S. (Retired), says: "This is the mystic Record, the archetypal Plan, the Eternal Law, according to which every thing seen and unseen is ordered and regulated. There is much mystic doctrine here explained by beautiful metaphors and illustrations. The simplest things in Nature are subject to His Law. The fresh and the withered, the living and the lifeless, nothing is cutside the Plan of His Creation".

earth, nor anything Fresh or dry (green or withered), But is (inscribed) in a Record clear (to those who can read)." He then holds the Qur'ān in his hand, closes his eyes, opens the Book at random, and (1) places the forefinger of his right hand on a verse, opens his eyes, and reads it, or (2) on opening the Qur'ān he reads either (a) the first verse on the right-hand page, or (b) the fifth verse or (c) the seventh verse, or (d) the ninth verse, or (3) on opening the Book he goes seven pages back and reads the first passage on which the eye falls. And this contains an indication of the reply he seeks.

Besides these and similar other simple modes of divination, there are other more complicated but ingenious ones also. As popular interest increased, omen-taking developed into an art and formed an integral part of occult sciences. Treatises were composed on this art by interested persons, which were attributed to great scholars and famous mystics. The 'Grand Master' (Shaykh-e-Akbar), viz., Ibnu'l-'Arabī, the codifier of Islamic mysticism, is credited with having devised ingenious 'Tables' ('Jadwals'), which were designed to present verses from the Quran, indicating oracular replies to not less than twenty-six classes of questions, such as (1) Is a particular undertaking likely to succeed or not?, (2) Is this news true or false?, (3) Is a voyage advisable or inadvisable?, (4) Is a journey on land profitable or otherwise?, (5) Will there be peace or war?, (6) Will this marriage be auspicious or inauspicious?, (7) Will this prisoner be released or not? As an illustration I give a Table (see Appendix A) designed to give replies to all questions falling under class I. After the necessary resolve and invocations, the enquirer closes his eyes and places his index finger on any one of the squares of the Table. The square contains a letter of the alphabet. It is taken down. Proceeding, he counts the squares and takes down every fifth letter, until he comes to the end of the Table. He does not stop here, but continues counting from the beginning of the Table and taking down every fifth letter, till he comes back to the square from which he had started. All these fifth letters preceding the starting-point are put down in the order in which they have come up commencing from the beginning of the Table.

After them are put down those fifth letters which have been yielded by the squares following the starting-point. The whole line of letters thus formed gives a verse of the Qur'an, which contains a clear indication of the reply to the question. Let us take a concrete example. Suppose an omen is to be taken regarding the question, 'Will a particular undertaking be successful or not?" After you have followed the above instructions, suppose your mysteriously guided finger alights on the sixth square in the tenth line, which contains the letter J. You take it down and counting forwards you come to the fifth letter, which is . Proceeding in this way and taking down every fifth letter, you get ,, , י, פ, ני, ו, יי, ו, יי, and י. This last is the sixth letter in the last line. Then leaving the next four (where the Table ends) and going further and up to the beginning of the Table, we come to the fifth letter which is J. Continuing the count and picking up every fifth letter until we come back to the starting-point (i. e., the letter,), putting down these letters first, and placing after them those which we had picked up before, we get When these ی بش ره ۱ ربه ۱ برح ۱ ت ۱ ن ۱ و و ر ض و ان و ج ن ا ت ل ۱ م letters are joined together to form words, we get the twenty-first verse of the Ninth chapter of the Qur'an, which reads as follows:

i. e., "Their Lord doth give them good tidings of a Mercy from Himself, of His good pleasure, and of gardens for them." This reply clearly indicates that the undertaking will be a successful one.

It is quite conceivable that the transition from the Revealed Qur'ān to the Ispired Diwān of the  $Lis\bar{a}nu'l$ -Ghayb, was an easy one. Practically the same methods, both simple and complicated, as were adopted for taking  $f\bar{a}l$  from the Qur'ān were also adopted for consulting the  $Diw\bar{a}n$ -e- $H\bar{a}fiz$ , and ingenious 'tables' ('jadwals'), similar to those given above, were designed with reference to the ' $Lis\bar{a}nu'l$ -Ghayb'.

Here one is inclined to ask a few simple questions: What is the propriety of this Title, why was Hāfiz (or according to others his  $D\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}n$ ) so called, and who was the first person to give the title? The earliest biogrpahers of Hāfiz throw no light on this

question. About a century after the poet's death (791/1389), we find that Jāmī, in his "Biography of Saints", compiled in 883/1478, says: وي 'لسان الغيب و ترجان الاسرارات بسا اسرار غيبيه و معانى حقيقيه ك 1478, says: در كسوت صورت و لباس مجاذ نبوده

"He is the 'Tongue of the Unseen' and 'Interpreter of Mysteries', who has clothed many a secret of the Hidden Sphere and mystic meanings (هماني) of the Realm of Reality, in the garb of Form and the costume of Typal Imagery." Some years later, the same Jāmī, in his Bahāristān (892/1487) said more explicitly:—

i. e., "As no sign of a laboured effort is visible in his verse, they called him the 'Tongue of the Unseen'. In his excellent Catalogue of the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore, Mawlawi 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir, while describing an extremely valuable manuscript of the Dīwān-e-Ḥafiz, belonging to that Library, says: "This explanation of Jâmî is very reasonably disputed in the Khazâna-i-Amirah by Àzâd of Bilgrâm, who conceives that a better reason for the term "Lisân-ul-Ghayb" might be adduced from the fact that the poet's odes, when consulted, reveal the hidden secrets of fate like an oracle; and the learned biographer quotes the following verse of a well-known poet in support of this view:

مردان خاك هم خبر از آسان دهند فال كلام حافظ شيراز كن لحاظ

I am afraid  $\bar{A}z\bar{a}d$ 's comment does not warrant the conclusion that "the explanation of  $J\bar{a}m\bar{i}$  is very reasonably disputed" by him.  $J\bar{a}m\bar{i}$ 's remark is not called in question. On the contrary  $\bar{A}z\bar{a}d$  accepts  $J\bar{a}m\bar{i}$ 's view and merely offers a suggestion that it is also possible that the title of  $Lis\bar{a}nul\text{-}Ghayb$  was given to him, because his  $D\bar{i}w\bar{a}n$  was consulted as an oracle. What  $Az\bar{a}d$  actually says is:

مولف گوید چور فال دیوان او از غیب خبرمی دهد باین اعتبار هم او را اسان الغیب می توان گفت- از اینجاست که می گویم سردان خالف الخ

Azād however is not the first person who suggests this possible reason. A century before him, the great Turkish bibliographer, Hājjī Khalifa, in his Kashfu'z- $Zun\bar{u}n$ , under  $D\bar{i}w\bar{a}n$   $H\bar{a}fiz$ , actually states\* that because the  $D\bar{i}w\bar{a}n$  was consulted as an

وهو ديوان معروف...وينفائل به...الهذا يقال له لسان الغيب \*

oracle, it was called Lisānu'l-Ghayb. His contemporary, Mullā Tughrā of Mashhad, author of the famous Rasā'il, in one of his Risālas, specially devoted to Hāfiz, clearly refers to this fact, when he says what has been stated at the very commencement of this article بأبل كلثن راز - الخ

The foregoing remarks sufficiently explain the significance of the title  $Lis\bar{a}nu'l$ -Ghayb.

Regarding the other question, viz., Who was the first person to give the title? Though it is difficult to find a definite answer, it seems highly probable that it was Jāmī. It was certainly not Sa'dī (who died a century before Ḥāfiz), as has been inadvertently stated by Dr. Steingass in his Persian Dictionary, under "Lisānulghayb". This statement has been refuted by Mawlawi Abdu'l-Muqtadir. The German lexicographist probably meant Jāmī.

Whoever gave the title, there is no doubt that it was very appropriate. The oracular popularity of the  $Diw\bar{a}n$  went on spreading far and wide. Treatises were compiled on its mystical virtues of divining the future. Hajji Khalifa informs us that Muḥammad b. Shaykh of Herāt wrote a short treatise on the omens taken from the  $Diw\bar{a}n$  and that Kafawi Mawlā Husayn (d. after 980/1572) wrote another treatise, in Turkish, on the same subject. Thus it is clear that within two centuries of the death of Hāfiz, the mystical fame of his miraculous  $Diw\bar{a}n$  had reached countries far and wide, and that the  $Diw\bar{a}n$  was generally consulted as an oracle, wherever Persian was spoken or understood.

Now let us briefly consider what were the principal methods employed to take omens from the  $Diw\bar{a}n$  As already stated, they were practically the same as those which were employed for the consultation of the Qurān. After invoking blessings of God on the soul of Hāfiz and that of his Shākh-e-Nabāt<sup>1</sup> ('Branch of

<sup>(1)</sup> According to the popular Persian fancy, which is however not supported by any weighty authority, Shākh-e-Nabāt was the name of the poet's sweetheart. She was to Haflz of Shiraz, so to say, what Laura was to Petrarch and Beatrice to Dante, the two great lyric poets of Italy. It is worthy of note that they both lived in the same century as Hafiz. The expression  $Sh\bar{a}kh$ -e-Nabāt is explained by some lexicographers as meaning the thin slender piece of word or of string that is stuck into the 'kāsa-e-nabāt' to induce crystallization, when the viscous semi-fluid candy is poured into it, and to which the candy crystals

Sugar-cane'), the enquirer opens the  $Diw\bar{a}n$  and reads the very first line, or the third, or the fifth, or the seventh, or the ninth, and looks for a reply to his question. Sometimes he goes seven pages back and consults the first or any one of the odd lines that follow, as mentioned above. Besides, there are certain Tables which are especially designed and used for this purpose. These Tables are called jadwals, when arranged in a rectangular form, and  $d\bar{a}$  iras, when in a circular form. Of these Tables, two are in more general use. One of them is that in which every seventh letter is counted from the starting-point, and in the other the ninth. These letters when collected and put in a certain fixed order yield the first line of an ode, which contains the prophetic signification. Before proceeding to give a concrete example of each of these two principal varieties, let us tarry a little to consider why so much importance has been attached to these odd figures, namely, five for an omen from the Qur'an and seven and nine for one from both the revealed Book and the Inspired  $Diw\bar{a}n$ .

These numbers, besides being odd, are generally regarded as mystic or mysterious, the manifestations of which appear to rule the universe. The Pythagorian Philosophy of Numbers, which had considerably influenced mystic Muslims, teaches that "Numbers are the principles of things, that Numbers are the cause of the material existence of things, that Nature is realised from Numbers, and that Things are but the copies of Numbers." The quintessence (literally 'the fifth essence') of the whole Universe is MAN, in

stick. The expression is also used to indicate a poet's pen. Hafiz has used it, more than once, in this latter sense. Cf.

<sup>.1</sup> حافظ چه طرفه شاخ نباتست کلك ،و کش میوه دلیدیر تر از شهد و شکر است 2. کلک حافظ شکر بن شاخ نباتست به چین که درین باغ نه بینی ثمری بهتر ازین 2.

About two hundred years before Hafiz, Anwari had also compared his patron's ren to the Shākh-e-Nabāt. After instituting a comparison between the ship of his patron and half a dozen other things, he says:

نی نی چو بحق در نگری شاخ نباتست بس پېر و چو اطفال هنوزش نم شیر است

<sup>(1)</sup> The ancient and medieval philosophers taught that while all things were composed in varying degrees, of four elements—earth, air, fire and water—there was a fifth element or essence higher and purer than others, which was latent in all things and which they called quintessence.

Arabic NAS, with which word the WORD of God, the Qur'an, ends. Commenting on this word the famous Commentator, Mulla Husayn Wā'ez e-Kāshifi, in his Tafsīr-e- $Husayn\bar{\imath}$ , says<sup>2</sup>: "Philosophers are of the opinion that the number 5 indicates finality and perfection. It is on this account called  $d\bar{a}'ir$  (Revolving), and herein lies an indication of the fact that however much it is multiplied by itself and the product is again multiplied by 5, and the operation is repeated ad infinitum; it manifests itself in its original form at the end (of the multiplication). For example, 5 x 5 = 25,  $25 \times 5 = 125$ , and so on. Then look at the quintessence of the whole creation, MAN, the external parts of whose wonderful Form (i.e., Body), terminate in five limbs: the head, two hands, and two feet. And the extremities of each one of these again terminate in five (component parts). In the two hands and two feet, they are visible in the form of five fingers and five toes, while the exterior of the head, which is more closely connected with the upper side, is adorned with the five external senses, and its interior with the five internal senses; and this view is supported by the fact that in the last chapter of the Qur'an the word "Nās" has been repeated five times. And in this number there are innumerable secrets, some of which have been mentioned in the  $Jaw\bar{a}hiru't$ - $Taf\bar{a}sir$ ." Again the obligatory prayers, which every Muslim, male as well as female, has to say daily, are five (ناز پنجگانه) in number. The Pillars of Islam are also five (پنج ارکان اسلام). The five Holy persons are the Prophet Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Usmān, and 'Alī, or the Prophet,

<sup>&</sup>quot;محققان بر آنند که عدد پنج ... دلالت بر نهایت و تمامی دارد و ازین جهت اورا دائر ...
گوبند و در آن اشارت بآن است که هم چند اورا در نفس او ضرب کنند و حاصل را درو باز ضرب نایند الی غیرالنهایته هم پنج بصورت اصلی خود باز آید و در نهایت آن عدد خود را بناید چون بیست و پنج و صد و بیست و پنج و علی هذا پس خلاصه مکونات که انسان است حدود پیکر بدیع منظرش بر پنج عضوی منتهی شود راس ویدین در جلین و اطراف هم یك از اینها باز به پنج انتها یافته و در یدین و رجلین با عداد اصابع ظاهم است و در راس که بطرف علو علاقم بیشتر دا رد ظاهمش بحواس خمسهٔ ظاهمی و باطنش به پنج حس دیگر آراسته شده و موید بیشتر دا رد ظاهمش بحواس خمسهٔ ظاهمی و باطنش به پنج حس دیگر آراسته شده و موید این قول است آنکه در معوذ " ثانبه که سوره قرانی بدان منتهی می شود پنج بار لفظ الناس تحربر یافتم و در این عدد اسرار بی نهایت مند رج است و بیان سطری ازان در جواهم النفسیر تحربر یا درفتم "

his daughter, Fāṭima, her husband, 'Alī, and their children, Hasan and Ḥusayn (نجح تن باك). The old magical sign of Perfection used by alchemists is the *Pentacle*, which is a *five*-cornered star.

The number seven, which is greater than five, has a wider range of mystic influence. There are seven heavens (هنت افلاك), ruled over by seven Planets (هنت سناه), which dominate over the seven days of the week and produce natural phenomena on the Earth. This latter is externally divided into seven Climes (هنت الله) and internally into seven strata (هنت الله). The Bible contains many sevens, such as the offering of seven bullocks, seven rams, and seven spirits b fore the throne of God. There are the seven divisions of the Lord's Prayer, and Pharaoh saw in his dream seven kine and seven ears of corn. The first chapter of the Qur'an has seven verses. There are seven styles of reading the Holy Book. There are also seven parts of the human body (هنت بردة چشم), seven 'tunics' of the eye (هنت بردة چشم), seven classes of saintly persons, seven stages of the spiritual journey of the soul, and seven valleys of 'Aṭṭār's Mantiqu't-Tayr' (هنت رادی منطق العير).

The number nine is still more mystic. It possesses wonderful properties. Multiply it by any digit from one to nine and the addition of the composing digits of every product gives us back the number nine. There are nine heavens (in ), nine precious stones (in ), and nine 'accidents' (in ). For other properties of nine, as a number indicating perfection or completion and as a mystic number, see Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable.

Now that we have a glimpse of some of the manifestations of these mystical numbers, let us look into some specimens of the Tables or 'jadwals'. The Table in which every seventh letter from the starting point is picked up is of three types. Type No. 1 is to be used from morning to midday, No. 2 from midday to the 'third watch' ( ), No. 3 from afternoon to nightfall. Here is a specimen of Type No. 1. It consists of 154 squares, arranged either in seven lines of 22 squares each or fourteen lines of 11 squares each (See Appendix B).

Let us take a concrete example. Suppose the mysteriously guided finger alights on the seventh square in the third line, which contains the letter. It is noted down. Leaving it and counting forward and picking up every seventh letter, we get fourteen letters up to the end of the Table and eight from the beginning of it, ending with the noted letter. Placing the last eight letters first and the other fourteen thereafter, we get the hemistich, جر لطف اورد که اکاف رخمهٔ قلم with which Ode No. 61 (in Pazhman's Persian edition) opens.

For want of space, specimens of Types Nos. II and III cannot be given. As a specimen of the other variety, in which every ninth letter from the starting point is counted, a table (see Appendix C) is reproduced from the 'excellent' Bankipore Catalogue, where it has been copied from an extremely valuable manuscript of  $Diw\bar{a}n$ -e- $H\bar{a}fiz$  (of which more anon), so fully and ably described by the learned cataloguer, Mawlawi 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir. The Mawlawi has no doubt rendered great service to the students of the  $F\bar{a}l$ - $n\bar{a}ma$  of  $H\bar{a}fiz$ , by reproducing this Table, to which Professor Browne has referred more than once in his admirable elucidation of the subject, "Taking auguries from the  $D\bar{i}w\bar{a}n$ -i- $H\bar{a}fiz$ ," and an Analysis of the Table (Lit. Hist., iii, 312).

In Appendix D, I give a KEY to the Divination Tables found in the Bankipore MS. This key shows at a glance what the ground-plan of its construction is and also provides a Standard for checking the correct entries of the 225 letters in the Table. It also serves as an object lesson or model for illustrating the construction of any number of similar  $F\bar{a}l$ - $n\bar{a}mas$  not only of the  $D\bar{v}w\bar{a}n$ -e- $H\bar{a}fiz$ , but also of any other work of oracular value.

What was sadly wanting in the Mawlawi's long descriptive note has been so admirably supplied and expressed by Professor Browne that I cannot do better than quote it here for a clear understanding of the ground-Plan of the Table. The Professor says: "The table...comprises  $15 \times 15 = 225$  squares, each containing one letter. Nine hemistichs each containing 25 letters are chosen (9 x 25 = 225). In the first square is placed the first letter of the first hemistich, in the second square the first letter of the second hemistich, and so on to the ninth square, in which

is placed the first letter of the ninth hemistich. Next follow the second letters of each hemistich in the same order, the second letter of the first hemistich in the tenth square, the second letter of the second hemistich in the eleventh square, and so on, until the table concludes at the 225th square with the last (225th) letter of the last (ninth) hemistich. In using the table the finger is placed at random on one of the 225 squares, and the letter it contains is written down, and after it, in a circle, the 24 letters obtained by taking each ninth square from the point of departure until the cycle is completed. By beginning at the proper point these 25 letters give the first hemistich of one of the odes, which can then be readily found in the Diwán. The table in question gives the following nine hemistichs, to each of which I have added the second hemistich (not included in the table but needed to complete the verse).

(1) ما آزموده ایم درین شهر بخت خویش نه بیرون کشید باید ازین ورطم دخت خویش "We have tried our fortune in this city; we must withdraw our gear from this gulf."

This would supply an answer to one who was hesitating as to whether he should emigrate from the place where he was, or not.

(2) سرحبا طائر فرخ پی فرخنده پیام ند خیر مقدم چه خبر یا ر کجا راه کدام "Welcome, O bird of auspicious advent and fortunate message!

Good is thy arrival! What news? Where is the friend? Which is the road?"

"If I go home from this abode of exile, then, when I go thither, I shall go wisely and sensibly."

This would supply an answer to a traveller or exile who was wondering whether he would do well to return home."

(4) طالع اگر مدد کند دامنش آررم بکف ن کر بکشم زهی طرب ور بکشد زهی شرف "Should my lucky star aid me, I will lay hold on his skirt; Should I pluck it, O the delight! And should he slay me, O the honour."

Bid the wind bear away all the harvest of those who are burnt out."

(6) كَفتم غم تو دارم كفتا غمت سر آيد . كفتم كه ماه من شو كهفتا اگر برآيد

"I said, 'I have longing for thee!' She replied, 'Thy longing will come to an end.' I said, 'Be thou my Moon!' She replied, 'If it comes off!'"

(7) یا رب آن نوگل خندان که سپردی بمنش نه من سپارم بتو از چشم حسود چمنش

"O Lord, that fresh and smiling rose which Thou didst entrust to me

I now entrust to Thee from the envious eye of the flower-bed."

(8) بر نیامه از تمنیای لبت کامم هنوز ن بر امید جام لعلت دردی آشامم هنوز "My desire hath not yet been fulfilled in respect to my craving for thy lip;

In the hope of the ruby goblet [of thy mouth] I am still a drainer of dregs."

(9) خیز تا از در میخانه کشادی طلبیم ندر ره دوست نشینیم و سرادی طلبیم

"Arise, that we may see an opening through the door of the tavern,

That we may sit in the Friend's path and seek the [fulfilment of] a wish!"

The table as given in the Bankipore Catalogue contains three wrong entries:

(1) in the 5th line, the 9th square should have, and not,

(3) , 8th , , 10th , , , , , , , , , , .

Further, three of the resulting hemistichs, as given by Professor Browne, when checked by the Table, give slightly different readings as stated below:—

In couplet No. 2, instead of پی فرخنده, the Table yields

, روی بنما ی ,, ,, ,, روی بنما ,, ,, 5, ,, ,, ,,

. بر نیا ید ,, ,, بر نیا مد ,, ,, ,, ,, ., ., ..

In the excellent analysis of this table given by Professor Browne, he says: "By beginning at the proper point, these 25 letters give the first hemistich of one of the odes." But what is the "proper point" and how is it to be found? Here, he is evidently interpreting what Mawlawī 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir has stated in his explanation (p. 234), viz., "If a little discretion is used, it will be found that these letters "form a matla". Fortunately all the botheration and uncertainty of finding where exactly the "proper point" lies and of excercising "a little discretion" can be avoided by following the direction for the use of the table given in the manuscript from which the Mawlawī copied the Table and which I am afraid, is not clearly grasped by him. The direction runs as follows:

ترکیب فالنامهٔ حضرت خواجه حافظ - نیت در دل داشته فاتحه بنام حضرت خواجه حافظ و یا شاخ نبات خوانده بعمل آرد فال نیك یا بد معلوم خواهد شد - در خانهٔ از خانها انگشت نهد و آن خانه را گذاشنه شار نباید نهم خانه را حرف نو یسد باین طور تبام نقش همگاه تبام شود از سر نقش همان طور حروف نهم نویسید مگر بالا این حرف را تا که انگشت نهاده برد همه را جمع گذد مصرع سر غزل بر می آید

In the above extract occur the words  $\lambda$ , which clearly show that the letters picked up from the beginning of the Table to the starting-point should be put above (the point of departue), that is, first, and thereafter the other letters picked up from the remaining portion of the table from the starting-point to the end of the table. In this way the correct order of the letters (or words) will be obtained, which will give the opening hemistich of an ode.

We have understood the nature of these tables. There now remains only one interesting point in connection with the subject, viz., (in the words of Professor Browne) "Recorded instances of appropriate auguries drawn from Hāfiz". The Professor observes: "As will be seen, the answers supplied by these vague oracles are often of a somewhat uncertain nature, besides being limited in number to nine. The other method of opening the Díwán at random gives, of course much richer results, and there stands on record many a remarkable response, which si non e vero e ben trovato." Six of these are recorded at the end (pp. 122-7) of the

<sup>1.</sup> If not tru, it iswell feigned.

little treatise entitled Latifa-i-Ghaybiyya." Those curious to know them are referred to Professor Browne's Lit. Hist., iii, 315 et seq., where they are quoted and fully explained. Four of these six refer to the ōmens taken by the Safawid rulers, Shāh Ismā'īl, Shāh Tahmāsp, and Shāh 'Abbās II, one to the author's own experience in 1052/1642-43, in Ahmedabad, the then capital of Gujarāt, and the last to a certain Fath 'Aly. These six auguries are also given by Sayf Pūr-e-Fāṭimī in his Shark-e-Hāl-e-Lisānu'l-Ghayb, with two additional ones, one of which is the omen which Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, who like his father was a great admirer of Hāfiz, had taken from the copy of Dīwān placed at the tomb of the poet, when he visited it during his sojourn in Persia. The poet-patriot enquired about the future of his native country. India, and the beautiful ode, which opens with the following couplet was presented in reply by the Lisānu'l-Ghayb:

The six auguries mentioned in the Latifa-e-Ghaybiyya are also quoted in Pazhman's edition of the Divān, with four additional ones, of which the last is interesting and instructive. In his youth, he tells us, he read and re-read the odes of Ḥāfiz, but failed to appreciate them. He could not understand why they enjoyed so universal a fame. He at once put the question to Ḥāfiz himself and promptly got the following significant reply:

He remarks: "Would to God that those blind critics who failed to appreciate the merits of the  $Div\bar{a}n$  and looked upon it as objectionable, offensive, and pernicious for public schools ((v)) had seen this couplet and their souls had been illumined with the light of truth."

There is an extremly valuable copy of the Diwān of Hātiz, preserved in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore (probably of the ninth century), of which a long description (a tangible proof of the learned Cataloguer's industry, patient labour, and deep research) is given in the first volume of the Catalogue. In it Mawlawi 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir says: "This extremely rare MS, is, no doubt one of the most valuable possessions of this library.

It bears numerous marginal notes in the handwriting of the Emperors Humayun and Jahangir, who, after consulting the odes (according to a popular belief of the Muhammadans that they reveal the hidden secrets of fate like an oracle), have made notes on the margin which explain in most instances the particular reasons for consulting the odes and the results that followed after consulting them." All these ten instances are fully explained by the Mawlawi in his Catalogue.

When sometime ago Sir Rustam Masani invited me to contribute an article to the Memorial Volume, I found myself in a mood of indecision and could not find a suitable subject. At this juncture Dr. Thoothi put me a pertinent question about the Fāl-namas and the methods of taking omens from the Dīwān-e-Hāfiz, and my old friend, Mr. Jahangir E. Sanjana, B.A., the veteran controversialist so well-known for his linguistic attainments and penetrating, vigorous, and trenchant criticism of political, social, and literary subjects, suggested to me the present subject. Still hesitating about it, I decided to consult Khwāja Ḥāfiz himself. Accordingly I consulted the oracle and promptly came the reply, the silent appeal conveyed in which was so eloquent that it was impossible for me to ignore it. I had to make a bow in submission:

Before concluding this article I must express my sincere thanks to my old and esteemed friend, Khan Saheb S. Bāķar 'Alī, B.E.S. (retired), who, inspite of great personal inconvenience very kindly went through the manuscript of the article and made valuable suggestions for the improvement of it.

APPENDIX A

Divination by the Quran.

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APPENDIX B

Divination by the Diwān of Hāfiz

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APPENDIX C

## Divination by the Diwan of Hafiz

(Reproduced from the Bankipore MS.)

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APENDIX D

A KEY to the Divination Table given in the Bankipore MS. and a MODEL for constructing similar other Tables.

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# COMMUNAL DISCIPLINE AMONG THE BOMBAY PARSEES IN OLDEN TIMES.

By J. R. B. JEEJEEBHOY.

#### Introduction.

Seth Muncherjee Pestonjee Khareghat, I. C. S., in whose revered memory this Volume has been published served the Parsee Panchayet with zeal and devotion for more than three decades to promote the welfare of his community. The duties assigned to this body during his membership (1911-1943), and even during the period of about half a century preceding his joining the board, were entirely different from those entrusted to it from the date of its formation circa 1728 to the passing of the Parsee Marriage and Divorce Act in 1865. When the history of the constitution of Parsee Society comes to be written through the perspective of those years (1728-1865), it will be realised how our distant ancestors, the then makers of the Parsee Panchayet, with the backing of the Anjuman and the Samast Anjuman, were instrumental in shaping the destiny of the present generation and how on stormy nights they appeared above the horizon as the friendly star and lighted the tempest-tost mariner to safety. This article is an attempt to survey some aspects of Parsee social life and manners of that period.

FORMATION OF COMMUNAL PANCHAYETS IN BOMBAY.

It is necessary to mention here that as the cosmopolitan population of Bombay island gradually began to increase, the Government (1669-1677) of Gerald Aungier, as mentioned by Fawcett in his English Factories in India (I pp. 80 & 130), took up in 1673 the question of establishing Panchayets for the different communities in Bombay "for now they seeme a mixed confused body, a garden planted with severall sortes of flowers promiscuously groing one among another without order or decorum and having no head nor cheif among themselves." It was suggested that they should be empowered to decide "small difference and quarrells that may happen among them"; but on account of the people's preference for having their disputes decided by the Court of Justice

to having them settled by the members of the Panchayet, the Hindus and Parsees did not elect their representatives although we read in the Bombay Consulation that the Mahomedans did so in 1675. As time went on however, the Parsees began to migrate into Bombay in greater numbers, and Banajee Limjee (1654-1734), one of their leaders, seems to have established the first Parsee Panchayet in about the year 1728. Its principal functions were "the regulation of the social and religious affairs of the Parsees, and to settle private disputes and to carry on the internal management of the community."

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PARSEE PANCHAYET.

Upto the year 1786 the membership of the Panchayet was generally hereditary but on 1st January, 1787, it was re-formed by the election of six members from the Behedin and six from the Athornán class by the Government (1784-1788) of Rawson Boddam, on more or less democratic principles, for the settlement of private disputes and the internal management of the community. All legislative work was subject to the sanction of the Samast Anjuman; judicial work was managed by the full complement of the Panchayet and administrative by some of the members of that body.

Maria Graham (1785-1842), who was in Bombay in 1810, writes in her book Journal of a Residence in India that the Panchayet "superintends all marriages and adoptions and inquires into the state of every individual of the community. Its members would think themselves disgraced if any Parsee were to receive assistance from a person of a different faith..."

The number of the membership of the Panchayet increased from 12 to 18 in subsequent years and as Hormasjee Bomanjee Wadia (1766-1826), the custodian of the funds, undertook no longer to keep the Panchayet moneys in his safe custody as he had been doing since 1820, there was created on 28th November, I823, a body of four members, known as the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayet, to whose joint names the moneys were transferred. The fifth member was taken in 1851 and two others were added in 1911.

As regards legislative matters, the Panchayet Sethias made regulations for the better conduct of the community and these were submitted for approval to the meeting of the Samast Anjuman when every Parsee was at liberty to be present, make suggestions and vote for or against the proposed bandabast.

#### Domestic Difficulties.

In the settlement of domestic litigation the parties approached the Sethias in whom the qualities of friends, guides, preceptors and judges appear to have been harmoniously blended. These elders heard the disputes, and, acting upon their own standard of right and wrong, gave their decision; but if they were doubtful, the matter was brought before the Samast (between 12 & 15 members of the) Panchayet for their opinion. The latter body, if the matter was weighty, sent it before the Anjuman that met at Uthamna ceremonies. If the decision to be given was of far-reaching importance the whole case was referred to the  $Samast\ Anju$ man, that is the general assembly of the Parsees especially convened for the purpose, which assumed the all-embracing role of law-giver, judge, jury and also guardian of the morals of every member of the community. All the disputes were in this manner calmly listened to and judged by the above-described tribunals and thus many a winter of quarrel and unhappiness was made glorious summer by the intervention of our unlettered but impartially minded ancestors.

#### Punishment

The punishment meted out to the miscreants fitted his or her offence according to the standard then prevailing. Not only was justice tempered with mercy but mercy with justice. Its milder beams seldom failed to play upon the hearts of the adjudicators. In the case of first offenders the punishment was slight, but the recital of the terrible warning that accompanied it in case of a second offence, that went round from mouth to mouth, kept back not only the persons punished but also the prospective malefactors. On rare occasions the offences called for deterrent sentences, but speaking generally the decisions given were equitable and conduced to contentment, peace and harmony in all homes, whether rich or poor. The Sethias of old were, as it were, the de facto trustees of the

morality of the people, the slightest deviation from the path of virtue being interpreted as a stain on the fair name of the community. They had a sincere regard for the reputation and well-being of their co-religionists whose  $m\hat{a}$ -bâps they were in every sense of the word. Their rulings were willingly and respectfully submitted to in a majority of cases.

## OPPOSITION TO THE PARSEE PANCHAYET

The Parsee public of a century and more ago were mostly law-abiding. They saw with the eyes and thought with the thoughts of the akabars and rarely a dissentient voice was heard flouting their legislative or executive authority. However, in the Bombay Courier of 1st November, 1823, one Muncherjee Merwanjee Nowrojee published a Notification in which he stated that:—

''હમણા કંઇએક મુકરર અણુધટારતનાં કાએદા તથા ચાલા કંઇએક મુકરર લાેકાએ બતાવાને ઉધાડા જાહેર કીધા છે–અને તે મુકરર લાેકા ખાતારૂ કેહેચ જે હમા પારશીની તેઆતનાં પંચાએતના શેઠીઆ છઇએ તે કાએદા હમુને ક્ષ્યુલ નથી…'

The Panchayet replied in the Courier's issue of the 8th ident that: "... જે તમાએ જે કાંઇ શૈતાની ચાલની પ્રશલામણી કરી તે ઉપર તમાએ એ જોજરખાહી કરી છે પણ તેથી પંચાતની તથા કુલ પારશીની અ જીમનની કશીજ ખાતર જેમે થાઇ નથી—અને થાડા દાહાડામા ખાતર જેમે જે લેવાના કેએ બાબતને ઘટાસ્ટ છે તે પરમ છે રશતા ધરશે—અને તેહની બીજી ચાકસ ખળર હવે પછી નજર આવશે."

The local Hampden had to eat the humble pie and apologise in the Courier of 15th November, expressing his "contrition and sincere repentance for the publication" and craving "forgiveness of the Panchayet and of the Parsee community at large."

## PARSEE PANCHAYET HELD IN HIGH ESTEEM

Thus the Panchayet vindicated its existence as an authoritative body and its members always commanded the respect both of Government and the public, an honour which came unsought for due to their position and influence. On 31st March, 1836, one Bai Goolbai filed a suit for maintenance against her husband Bejonjee who had not paid to his wife a stated sum as had been directed by the Panchayet. The case was called on at the Petty Session before Mr. Warden and his colleagues, when three members of the Panchayet were summoned as witnesses. The Judge

reprimanded the defendant for disobeying the Panchayet orders and for unnecessarily giving trouble to the three gentlemen. As mentioned in the Panchayet records¹ of 1836:—''એજનજને ગંનો ધમકાવીને એહોરમત કીધા જે તુંને કંઇ શરમ નથી જે તું તારી પંચાતનાં કેઢા પરમાંણે ચાલતા નથી ને એ શાહેએ! (ને) હંઇ વેર તશડી આપી વાશતે હું તુંને કેઉચ કે તું પાછા પંચાતનાં શાહેએ! પાસે જ ને એ શાહેએ! જે રીતે વ'દાવશત કરે તે તું કહ્યુલ કર

In 1830, one Hormasjee Atha complained to the Panchayet that Barjor Bhima, his son-in-law, was living apart from his wife. The Panchayet mobed was asked to produce Barjor before Wadia Nowrojee Jamsetjee (1774-1860), an usual preliminary before the full board disposed of the matter. Barjor declined to be present:

"માેળેદ ફેરા ખાઇને થાકા પણ તે લાેકા આવા નહી તેવી નશેશાલને તેના ગેર આગલ માેકલાે તારે તે બરજેનેર ભીમા તથા તેનાે ભાઇ ધનજ ભીમાં આવા…"

And when Barjor turned up Wadiajee admonished him on his behaviour.

The next day both the parties were present before Wadiajee but Barjor became very rude. Exhibiting a careless indifference to consequences, he cursed and swore in a language which no well-bred man would use. "વાદીઆઇએ કઉ જે જાઓ તા પન હેઠે ઉતરા નહી તે વારે માનસને હાકમ કીધાં જે હેનાને હેથે ઉતારા. ગના મેનતે હેથે ઉતારા તારે દાદર પર ઉતરતા ગણીએક પદશાખી કાધી."

This misconduct of Barjor and his sister, his accomplice, was brought to the notice of the Panchayet who decided to ex-communicate them for three months and to prosecute them before a magistrate. They subsequently tendered an apology and were pardoned.

"શરવે અનજીમનના કહાથી એ ભાઇ ખેતાની તખશીર માક કીધી છે તે તે લેહાએ તાહાન નવારીતે દાતીના તાકા\*ધરમખાતે લીધા છે."

<sup>1</sup> Some of the records of the meetings of the Parsee Panchayet are still preserved in the Panchayet office. The quotations in vernacular given in the text are in the same style and spelling in old Gujarati as prevailed in the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries.

<sup>ં</sup> દેવિના તારા was a kind of thick cloth generally exacted by the Panchayet from miscreants as penalty and then presented to destitute Parsees for their use.

PROPER ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC FUNDS.

The Panchayet was always anxious about proper management of public charities so that the poor and the destitute got full advantage of the funds. The following will show what we mean. Rightly or wrongly the Panchyet believed that Manekjee Seth's (1688-1748) Executors, Sorabjee Manekjee and Mancherjee Bomanjee were not administering his charities properly and filed a suit in the Mayor's Court in 1788. They won. The defendants appealed to the Governor-in-Council who upset the Mayor's ruling. The Panchayet carried the matter to the King-in-Council (Privy Council), but they lost.

### Modes of Punishment.

We now come to the mode of punishment in which we find the punitive and preventive elements evenly blended. In 1778 law put the weapon of shoes in the hands of the Parsee Panchayet and invested it with the authority to use it to correct the evil propensities of miscreants. In that year Jamset Boga Mody (1724-1822), a prominent member of the Panchayet, sought powers from Government to beat "with a few shoes" those "low Parsees who are ignorant to the rules of our religion, are going infringe the same," and the Government (1771-1784) of William Hornby empowered the Behedins to meet and inquire into all matters "committed by your caste contrary to what has been agreed to by the majority" and to punish the offenders "so far as not permitting them to come to your feasts, or beat them with shoes."

Such a chastisement, reviewed from the angle of modern refinement, might savour of barbarism but it must be remembered that a century and a half ago the Bombay Society was in the making and to be merciful to the bad would hinder the progress of the whole community. Crimes are infectious and must be nipped in the bud. Some of the offenders were so refractory and beyond reform that the punishment resorted to, viz., beating with shoes, was perhaps the only way to bring them to a proper frame of mind. As mentioned by Shakespeare: "Diseases desperate grown by desperate appliances are relieved or not at all." The

penalty inflicted on a bad woman in the following case is even more interesting.

In 1792 one Kunverjee Nanjee complained to the Panchayet that his wife was living apart from him and was not going straight; that she should be sent to his house and thus be reclaimed to virtue. The woman was sent for by the Panchayet and ordered to reside with Kunverjee. She complied for a time but her behaviour in her husband's home was quite pugnacious and within a short time she left him again to follow her own way. On the complaint again reaching the Panchayet it realised that as the matrimonial alliance had not its roots in mutual affection and as there were no chances of its being attended with happiness and tranquility, the husband was permitted to remarry and further as for the first wife: "તે આરતને માંયુ ખેદાવીને……પારસી કુંવરજી પોતાને ગેર લેઇ જાએ તે તેના પશ્ચાનો કાદે (Maintain her as his wife) પણ જો તે કરતાં જો તે આરત જો પોતાનાં વણીને ગેર રેહે નહી તો પછે પનચાતને જે કાંઇ મારગ શુજે તે કરીને સમ્ત દેવા ગઢારત હશે તે દીએ…"

The following case of Jamsetjee Byramjee Laskari (1789-1829) is likely to excite the reader's amazement from the point of view of the vicarious punishment inflicted. He was a well-todo Parsee of Bengal and had amassed a decent fortune at Calcutta. He was, however, accused of destroying connubial bliss and domestic joy. Setting public opinion at naught he had committed bigamy at Udwada. On his return to Bombay in 1818 he was excommunicated by the Panchayet. This chastisement entirely put the Gay Lothario out of temper. Not very mindful of the dignity of the priestly uniform, he used abusive language towards Edaljee Masani, the Panchayet mobed, who had gone to inform his father that if he kept his son under his roof, he would also be excommunicated. The Panchayet thereupon dragged Jamsetjee into the law-court and the short-tempered bigamist at once apologised for his rash action. At the meeting of the Panchayet held at the Dadyseth Agiary on 10th April, 1818, the apology was accepted and it was resolved that Jamsetjee એ "પાતાને હાથે પાતાના ગાલ ઉપર પાંચ ખાસડાં મારવાં'......and also that after undergoing other penalties prescribed, he should be allowed to re-enter his caste. Accordingly when the Panchayet met again on 16th June,

ઉપલા ધણીએ…પોતાને હાથે નાખ પર ખાશડાં મારી માંદ્ર માંગી. He was further ordered, inter alia, to perform communal purification (નહાન નહાતું) and to set apart the sum of Rs. 2,000/ for the maintenance of the first wife and to present her with jewellery worth not less than Rs. 750.

The above episode reminds us of the words of Lord Curzon, who once said that "To me the past is sacred. It is often a chronicle of errors and blunders and crimes... Yet it is something to keep alive the memory of what it has wrought for the sake of those who come after us."

The penalties inflicted on an offender by the Panchayet during the 18th and the first half of the 19th century were as follows:—

- (1) No mobeds allowed to enter his house;
- (2) Excommunication;
- (3) Not allowed to visit places of worship;
- (4) Corpse-bearers debarred from entering his house;
- (5) Towers of Silence closed to him;
- (6) Beating with shoes;
- (7) Women offenders shaven and kept at the Nassakhana.

The person excommunicated was subjected to the following penalties promulgated by the *Samast Anjuman* at their meeting on 20th May, 1824:

- (1) No mobed should go to his house for পাল আছ্বান or marriage ceremony;
- (2) The Atash Beherams and Agiaris be closed to him;
- (3) He should not be given water in the donor's vessel (પાણી પાલુ પડે તેા તેનાં વાસણમાં નામીને આપવું અથવા દુરથી ધાર રેડીને પાવું.)
- (4) No one should partake of food with him;
- (5) He should not be invited to Ghambar festivals;
- (6) No one should go to the funeral of any member of his family;
- (7) His body should not be consigned to the Towers of Silence;
- (8) His family & those who resided with him should also be excommunicated.

To make these Draconian regulations more severe it was decided on 8th September, 1858 that from that day when a person was excommunicated "તેહેનાવાને વાશતે ક્રાટ મધે તથા બાહારકાટ કુલે જરવાશતીઓનાં માહાલાઓમાં નશસાલાર ફેરવીને જાહેર કરવું કે ફલાનાં ધંનીનું ઘેર નઆત બાહેર મેલવામા આવેઉ છે."

The Panchayet of those days was very zealous about the morals of its wards. In 1858 a girl had bigamously married without Panchayet's consent. Both she and her second husband were excommunicated. Shortly afterwards, the girl's father died and the Panchayet sent word to the family of the deceased, even when the body was lying on the floor, that if the bigamists were not forthwith ejected from the house, the corpse will not be allowed to be removed: "र्यानना अभाग अध्या श्रीवामा आवश."

The Panchayet in its anxiety to exact strict adherence to its regulations, forgot on this occasion the respect due to the dignity of a dead body; but a law was a law and there was therefore no alternative but to get the guilty couple away from the house so that the corpse might get an entrance to its last resting place which it ultimately did.

It was always the policy of the Panchayet to rehabilitate old offenders and, if they showed sincere penitence for their past follies, to give them the opportunity of turning over a new leaf and lead an houourable life. For instance, on the auspicious occasion of the Tana ceremony of the Bisni Tower of Silence on 1st April. 1841, eleven offenders, who had been ex-communicated were tendered full pardon except one who received this elemency seven months later when he was admitted into the Parsee fold after undergoing the rest ceremony.

#### PROSELYTISM.

As regards proselytism the akabars more than a century ago took their stand upon the highest moral and religious ground and were vehemently opposed to converting non-Parsees to Zoroastrianism. A Parsee servant named Nowrojee having invested his mistress with Sadra and Kusti, a meeting of the Panchayet was convened on 10th August, 1826, when Nowrojee's master was informed through the Panchayet mobed that: "a wife

નવલાને હાતે તે લેંાડીના શદરા કાડી નખાવા ને તે પારસી નવલાને કેવું જે તે લેાનડીને આજાદ (free) કરે.''

Similarly Wadia Nowrojee Jamsetjee's words of admonition to his colleagues are worth noting. He remarked on a Circular, dated 10th December, 1828, that it was not proper to connive at brazen-faced deeds of conversions in spite of the Panchayet while it stopped those who applied for sanction. His words were: "આએ ખારના છે! કરાવા ભાખે તરેવાર ખાલીએચ પન કઇજ થાતુ નઇ તે જે આપરી વગર રજાએ તે આપણીથી કરે છે તેને આપણે કંઇ પુછતા નથી તે જે આપરામા પુછતા આવે છે તેને અતકાવી છે એ કંઇ દરશત નઇ. આપો તો શઉતે, અતકાવી તો શઉને અતકાવી…"

Framjee Cowasjee (1768-1851) made a still more trenchant minute on the same Circular: "એ ઉગાર રાખેઆમાં હવે દારેદારે ગનીજ ખેહેઇ આપરી જરતુશી કામમાં મંધઇ છે...ધરમની જગા છે તાં ઉગારે બજારે તે નંદા રાખીને તે છોકરાવાને શદરા તથા વેવા પણ કરાઆ જાએ છે તેનું કશા બંધાબશત તમારી જરતાશી ખામથી દાઇ નથી શકતા તેને કરીને ગણાજ ખેડી ગઉ છે..... જરે એારતની બદફેલી ઉગારી પડે તારે તેને તમા અનજીમન નાતાથી તથા તેના ધણીથી બાતલ કરીને તેના મરદને બાજ એારત કરવાની રજા આપા છા ને વરી તે છાકરીના માએબાપ પાતાની દુનીઆની એબથી વખતે તેનું જાન લીએ છે ને જેર દીએ છે તે ગનુજ ગુનાનું કામ થાએ છે તે શરવે તકશીર અનજીમનના શાહેબાની છે."

The wise counsel of the akabars almost coincided with the sentiment of Sir J. Denham who wrote:

"When by a pardoned murderer blood is spilt."
The Judge that pardoned hath the greatest guilt."

The elders perceived it clearly that once the sluices of immorality and brazen-faced conversions were opened there would be no staying the tide which would soon envelope in its fatal fold those eminent qualities which the Parsees had inherited from their ancestors and for which they were so justly proud. They therefore convened a meeting on 23rd June, 1836, and decided that "के अधाद क्षेष्ठा रांडने पेतनां छे। इरांचीने पंचातनी अगर राजाओ तथा अगर अरशनुम तथा अगर नीरंभिटीने शहरो पेहिरावीआ छ तेनांने भाडावीने नशीओत हरवी गते ते इरवी."

Another meeting was held five days later at which it was decided to excommunicate three mobeds, who had performed such Navjots, subject to the sanction of the Anjuman.

#### FEMALE DELINQUENTS.

In 1819 it was brought to the notice of the Samast Anjuman by an anonymous writer that 'આપણા ટાળાનાં કેટલાક મરદા તથા એરિતા ઘણાક ગુનાહ ભરેલા કામા કરે છે, અને અગર તેઓને વખતસર સજા નહી કરવામાં આવે તા તેઓના પાપના બાજો પંચાતનાં વડાને સર છે"...

It was therefore resolved on 4th November, 1819 to meet the danger from superstitious and immoral practices by enacting the following vade mecum:—

- (1) No woman should stir out of the house between sunset and sunrise;
- (2) In the case of urgency she should be accompanied by a reliable male attendant and a lantern;
- (3) No woman should resort to such temples as Mumbadevi, Bhuleshwar, Mahaluxmi, Walkeshwar or any other place of Hindu worship, for idolatry;
- (4) No woman should visit Mama Arjani. Mahim or the tomb of Bawa Bismillah, or worship the taboot;
- (5) All women should immediately put a stop to the belief in છી, સંદેલ, હજરત, દેવા, ચીકી, માંદરીંઆં, etc., and should not visit the houses of Brahmins, Sevras and Joshis.

Nassesalars were ordered to keep the strictest watch near the Fort Gate\* to report if the regulations were broken, and if so, female transgressors were liable to be detained at the Nassakhana. By adopting such salutary measures to curb superstitious propensities the elders of the community earned the honour of being the guardians of virtue and morality.

## Settlement of Domestic Differences.

The mansions of the akabars were the places where domestic quarrels and matrimonial differences were settled to the satisfaction of both the parties. The Samast Panchayet issued a strict warning on 7th February, 1811 to turbulent women: "શહલા શનતાકથી આવે તે ખેરતને પત્યાતના શરશતા પરમાણા શજા જે દેવી ગટે તે દેઇને પછે…ખીજ એારત કરવાના હોકમ પત્યાત આપે."

In those days Parsees mostly lived in the Fort area.

In 1824 a married woman desired separation from her husband which was not granted. So rather than go and live with her "bitter half", she went to Thana and repeated her petition to the local Anjuman there. Having met with a second refusal she next tried Kalyan. The Bombay Parsee Panchayet having heard of her peregrinations at once wrote to the authorities at the latter place not to entertain her request but तेश्रीने પંચાએતના હીસાએ ખરચ કરીને મુંબઇ માકલી દેવી યા નવસારી તેશ્રીના વર આગલ માકલી દેવી. નહી તો કાઇ કળીલદારનાં ઘરમાં દેલાસા દઇને રાખવી. તેના ખર્ચ જે કાંઇ થાય તે લખી જણાવતાં આપવામાં આવશે.

In the case of persons of loose morals, the Panchayet took special care and after punishment kept them under strict surveillance. In one instance in 1794 an adulterous Parsee was asked to return home and live peaceably with his wife and far away from his mistress.. "à भारतथा हुर रहे ने तेन नाम हराया नहीं लोगे.." If this order was disregarded he was threatened with excommunication and deportation from Bombay so that his bad example might not infect others. As for the mistress, she was sent to Sumali under escort and detained there under the superintendence of the patel and five other "બલા આદમા" Parsees with instructions that she should be very carefully looked after and guarded. Rs. 4/ per month were also sanctioned for her maintenance.

On another occasion in or about 1830 a child was born to a Parsee woman out of wedlock in the house of a female of ill repute. As soon as the Panchayet was informed of this ugly incident, her brother was sent for and ordered to bring the woman in his house away from all temptations so that she may not further drift into iniquity "h nell aist she water a bisth au anil aist and unal aist and u

The brother then subsequently found a match for his sister, and the former husband was given permission to remarry. Thus through the intervention of the Panchayet the woman was saved from a life of shame and the man was enabled to keep a happy home.

A woman named Virbai left her husband's home at Surat in 1836, came down to Bombay and ''નીલાજરાપણાયી બાહેર બદફેલીમાં ક્રસ્યા લાગી." She was observed by Nowrojee Halkaru (1807-1859), the famous journalist and guardian of public morals, who wrote to Wadia Nowrojee: આજ ચાર પાંચ દાડા થયા રોજ રાતનાં ખખે વાગા સુધી મેહેનત કરતાં ગેઇ રાતનાં મહાં શખતીથી પેલી શુરતવાલી પારશંન જેહને ખેહદ માથું ઉચકેઉંચ તેહને હું એ તેનાં માતીને લેઇને ગેઇ રાતનાં ખે વાગતાં પકદી છે. તે હાલમાં ખેતવાડીમાં છે વાશતે જો તંમા મહેરખાની કરા અને એક નશેશાલાર માકલાવીને તેને કાતમેનાં નશા-ખાનાંમા મંગાવા તા ગંનુંજ બહેતર થાએ અને મારી પાસે ખારકશખી તઇયાર છે. હું હેને આજે અથવા કાલે તા હેનાં વરની શાથે વાહાંન ઉપર ચડાવીને શુરત માકલી દેશ પંત હૈને એક ડાદા નશાખાનાંમા રાખેઆથી ગાંમમાં છુમ ઉડશે તો ખીજ શેકડા અશતરીઓને ધાશતી પડશે અને એકદમ ટાળાનું શુધરાવું થાશે. તે ચંદાલ અશતરીને થેાંડા દાડા ઉપર પકડીને તેનાં માડીનાં હાથમાં આપી હતી પંત્ત તાંથી નાંહશી ગેઇ તે હમણા માંહાં શખતીથી પકડાઇ છે."

The woman was sent back to Surat with her husband and the Panchayet paid all their travelling expenses. It may be mentioned that while leaving Bombay Virbai showed her repentance ...... "હવેયા હું હેવું નીલાજરાપંનું કરૂ નહી અને આજ દીને હું પાતાનાં મરદ શાથે શી શુરત સ્વાનાં થાઉ છેઉ."

The Surat akabar Modyjee, was requested by the Panchayet to keep watch over her... 'તમારી નજરમાં આવે તે પરમાંણે નશીએત દેજો…...ને ખે શખું ન કેવા ગતે તેને કેજોછે."

A matrimonial complaint was heard by the Panchayet in 1794 in which the Anjuman decided on 9th March ''જે એ પારસી પાતાની મારદાર એક્સ સાથે શમજીને રાહેતે (રાહતે)...દુનીઆના શરેશતા પરમાણા......ને વલી એ પારશી તે એક્સથી દુર રહે તે તેનું નામ ક્રીથી નહી લીએ...નહી તો એ પારશી આપણી હમજાતની ખાર છે......એવા આદમી આપણા ગાંમમાં નહી જોઇએ તે પારશીને ગાંમથી ખાર કાડવા."

In 1827 the wife of one Cowasjee left his protection soon after marriage and went to Daman to stay with her brother-in-law, Jamsetjee. On being approached the Panchayet wrote a letter to the Daman Anjuman to prevail upon the brother-in-law to bring her to her matrimonial responsibility. The letter further stated: "હેવી સીતે આપરે જે વારે હેવી સંકતે વગર શજાએ જતી મુક્રીસું તારે ખીછ હેવી કંમજાતોને વરી હેવું શજ પડે વાશતે જેવી જેની તકશીર તેવી શજા પોચાડવી જોઇએ." The Daman Anjuman could do nothing and the husband of the woman wrote: "કરંગીના મોલક પડેઓ તેથી માર ચાલત નથી." The wife's contention was that her husband was of a ferocious temper. She wrote: "મને એ ધણી શાય માકલા (માકલવા) કરતા કાશી દે

મારે ધુતકા થાએ પત એ ખાવીંદ સાથે હું હરગીશ જાઉ ત્રષ્ટ." The  $\operatorname{Daman}\ Anjuman\ \operatorname{deplored}\ \operatorname{Jamsetjee}$ 's action and stated: 'હમા ગરીય લોકા ઇચ્યા આપાના મેજયને આખર દંજતથી ચલાવતા હતા તે એ ભલા માણસ જમશેદ અમજયનીથી ક્રેજેતી કરે છે. (ક)શું લખાતુ નથી."

The Parsee Panchayet in its reply dated 27th August, 1827 deplored that nothing could be done in the matter: "એ ધણી જે દેકાણે પરદેશ કરેએ છે તારે આપર દીનધરમનું કશા દેકાના રાખીયું નથી ને જે ઘણી અનજીમનની શાથે શાખી કીધી છે તે કના થઆ વગર રસા નથી."

A similar case occurred in Bombay in 1830. A cantankerous woman left her husband's protection and went to live somewhere at Mazagon. After four days she returned home and was put in chains by the inmates to prevent her from leaving the house again; but she contrived to escape. Her father-in-law thereupon sought the permission of the Panchayet to allow his son to re-marry. But Wadia Nowrojee was against such a re-marriage and agreeing with the words of the Bible:— 'What therefore God hath joined together let not man put asunder," he persuaded the husband that "તેમારા દીલવી વીચારીને કખી એક વાર હેની તકશીર અપશીને ગરમાં ગાલો તો ખેતર છે ને તમારી નહીજ મરજ હોએ તો તમા કેવા જે એ છોકરીને સભ્ય દેવારીએ." But the husband and his whole household were unyielding and Wadiajee એ "તે રાંડને પકડી લાવાને શાપુરદારને કેઉ" and ultimately the necessary permission for a bigamous marriage was granted to the aggrieved husband.

In l'ecember, 1843 the Panchayet received a complaint from one Bejon that his married daughter, aged 18, was not living with her husband whom she did not like and was drifting into vice. He, therefore, appealed that she should be allowed to re-marry and try her luck over again in the matrimonial lottery. The Panchayet gave the necessary permission lest "એ છોકરી શક્રો કાહડીને બાહેર બીઇ અતમા અએ" and moreover gave her from the Panchayet Funds the sum of Rs. 100/- "બીજી ધેર કરાવાને વાશતે."

In about 1829 a complaint was received against the inordinate levity of a Parsee at Kalyan who had been occupying a seat on the Kalyan Panchayet board. The Bombay Sethias thereupon reprimanded the Kalyan Anjuman stating that "તે કલ્યાણીની પનચાએતમા ખેશનાર થઇને અજબ છે જે તમા એ ધણીને હજીર સુધી શીખામણ દીધી નઇ."

#### FEMININE DIGNITY UPHELD.

From these instances out of many we get an idea of the paternal regard the elders of the community had for the moral and spiritual welfare of their co-religionists and how sincerely they worked for their well-being. As for Parsee females the Sethias from the earliest time were desirous that they should exhibit those gentle manners and virtues which usually adorn their sex. Their character should be above censure and not even within the reach of suspicion. Being nature's masterpieces they should be the very image of simplicity and chastity.

On 5th June, 1796, the Parsee Kul Anjuman decided that no woman singer (ગાંએના) should sing on public roads on festive occasions because "એ ચાલ ગણા નાલાએક છે," the transgressors being liable to be arrested, confined and fined.

Professional women mourners were also banned. Formerly when a death occurred in a house these females were hired to create an atmosphere of mourning by beating their chests with both their hands. It was one of a number of outlets for the expression of the emotions of sorrow, a practice which did not harmonize with the canons of the Zoroastrian religion, which enjoins that grief should be restricted and restrained within the bounds that nature and decorum demand. It was therefore decided by the Samast Anjuman on 18th October, 1823 that: ''আর প্রায় রুবানু ব্যাল কর্মী হবানু ক্রি হাই গুড়ী হাই ক্রি আম্ম্রী হ্রানন ঘড়ী হমাবিপ্তান ক্রি হ্রাননী মন্তবার হার্ ব্যালনী মন্তবার হার্ ব্যালনী হ্রানন ঘড়ী হামবিপ্তান ক্রি হ্রাননী মন্তবার হার্নন হার্য ক্রি হ্রানন হার্য ক্রি হ্রানন হার্য স্বানন হার্য হার্য ক্রি হ্রানন হার্য হার্য হ্রানন হার্য হার্য হার্য হ্রানন হার্য হার্য হার্য হার্য হার্য হ্রানন হার্য

The female-folk of a century and more ago were conscious of the dignity of labour which is the divine law of our existence. When there was a scarcity of rain in Bombay in 1856 they willingly undertook to carry water from the wells from long distances. Lest they should be molested or waylaid on their way the Panchayet engaged the services of supervisors "METIMAL WATER! Such was its anxiety for the protection of the gentler sex.

Sanctity Of The Marriage Bond.

In 1794 a prospective Parsee bridegroom declined to marry his betrothed. The Samast Anjuman gave him notice that if he

did not realise his responsibility within a week, he would be excommunicated not only in Bombay but in other towns as well and further that no other girl would be allowed to be given to him in marriage. In similar cases the Panchayet also applied to the judiciary that "એવા આદમા આપણા ગામમાં નહી જોઇએ."

The modern trend of opinion, however, would rebel aginst such a vicarious step and assert that:

"Marriage the happiest bond of love might be If hands were only joined when hearts agree."

On 5th November, 1829, one Nasserwanjee Satha petitioned to the Panchayet to break off his son's engagement with Dhunbai, daughter of one Kharsedjee, one of many instances where the bridegrooms falter 'twixt the ring and the altar. Wadia Nowrojee was in favour of granting the petitioner's request remarking that ''છાકરીની મા કમજાત છે," but Framjee Cowasjee protested against the bark of the proposed matrimonial alliance being wrecked under the tempest of a vile-tempered mother-in-law. ''હેવા કારજને ભાગશા,'' 'he remarked, ''તા આપડા કદીમ ધારા ખરાષ્ય થાશે તે રાજ હેવા કાજીએ આવશે. કંમજાંત કે જાત હેવે જે હાંએ તે એક ખીજાનું નશીખ તે પાતે ભાગવે પંત કારજ થાઈઉ તે ભંજાએ નહી.''

Another petition of a similar nature engaged the attention of the Panchayet in 1836 when the matter of Nasserwanjee Subedar, aged 38, who was engaged to one Hamabai, aged 10, was considered. The bridegroom was just at that awkward age young enough to smile at his fiancée but too old to have her smile again. The Trustees rightly resolved that "EA A QU SIRMAL STAILAL N'AL GA US SIRMAL S

Petitions For Divorce Or Re-Marriage.

The Panchayet on several occasions allowed a husband or a wife to re-marry in pursuance of a Resolution which had been passed by the Samast Anjuman on 19th February, 1791 that divorce might be granted on the grounds of (1) sterility, (2) wife's adultery and (3) husband's impotency. The fourth ground "husband's desertion for ten years" was added by the Panchayet Anjuman at their meeting held on 8th March, 1794.

On 18th November, 1830, a Khandala Parsee, with a wife, believing with the Poet Southey that "a house is never perfectly furnished for enjoyment unless there is a child in it", craved permission of the Panchayet to re-marry: "હમારા કબીલામાં કાઇ નથી......" he wrote, "જો હમા ઘેર બીજી કરીએ તો હમારી કંઇ વસતી થાએ, કાંએજે એ એારતની ઉમર વરસ દ૮) પંત હજીર સ્ધી કંઇ હતે પેતે થાતું નથી તેથી કરીતે...મને રજા આપા." We believe the Panchayet gratified the applicant's long-cherished wishes.

Four years later (1834) Andhyaru Jehangir's wife spurned the marriage altar by declining to live with him as husband and wife in spite of strong persuasions. The Panchayet decided that as: 'જાંગીર પાતાનું ઘર મુકીને બીજી ઘર કંઇ લેઇ શખતા નથી ને હેની એારત તે ઘરમાં જતી નથી ને જપરજસતીથી તે ઘર મધે માકલશું તો ખેમાંથી એકનાં જનની ખાવારી છે વાશતે હું ધે આરૂ જ ગીરને ખીજી ઘર કરવાની રજા આપી છે."

In the same year the impotency of a husband led to the annulment of his marriage. The girl's parents tried every remedy but the attachment between the couple never got beyond Platonic love. The girl therefore was permitted to break the marriage bond but all jewellery received by her on her wedding was to be returned to the husband.

In November 1832, a mother complained to the Panchayet that her son-in-law was not maintaining his wife for several years. The latter had practically fallen into his hands instead of falling into his arms. She was uncared for and 'છારી જાવણને વાહર ચાકરી કરવા કેમ માકલે." The husband was sent for and admonished by the Panchayet but the interview bore no fruitful result. The girl was, therefore, allowed to re-marry and until such time as the wedding took place he was ordered to give her an allowance of Rs. 10/- per month, just sufficient to keep her, if not in comfort, at least beyond the fear of want. Moreover, she was to receive Rs. 125/- on her re-marriage for expenses.

Here is another application (June, 1836) for permission for the re-marriage of his daughter Kharshed by one Ratanjee whose son-in-law had been demented for the previous eleven years. Ratanjee had made the same application four years previously but the Panchayet had then put it off "જે તે છે!કરા શમરશે પંત હજુર શુધી શમરેઓ નહી અને તે દેવાનાંથી એ પારસી સ્તંનજની છે!કરીનાં શંનશાર ચાલે હેવું

sib નજર આવું નહી" and, therefore, the girl who was then aged 24 was permitted to take another husband and also the mentally deficient man was given liberty to marry should he so desire on his improvement. All Kharshed's jewells received on her marriage were ordered to be restored to her former husband's family.

# ATHORNAN BEHEDIN MARRIAGES.

In 1777 the Panchayet had passed a Resolution that no Behedin's daughter should be given in marriage to an Andhyaru's son. This matrimonial disability at times weighed heavily both upon the priestly class and the laity, but the Resolution of the Panchayet remained on its records in a modified form for a long number of years, more honoured in its breach than in its observance. Even to-day there exists some sort of prejudice against such alliances.

In contravention of the above Resolution Behedin Hormasjee Behramjee Patel's baby daughter, aged 50 days, was engaged to the infant son of Andhyaru Beheramjee Nusserwanjee, in 1785. The Panchayet met three times and dissuaded the parents from breaking the Regulation but the pleading fell on deaf years. As a last resort the Panchayet itself banned the engagement and resolved on 27th October, 1785 "જે…અધીઆર એહેરાંમજ નસરવાંનજ તથા પટેલ હોરમજજ એહેરાંમજ એખી ઘણી એઅદખી કીધી છે તેથી… એહેદીન અથવા મોબેદએ છોકરાઓને બાણે ચડાવે નહી…ને જો ચડાવે અથવા પાણી પાએ અથવા જ મવાનું આપે અથવા આશાદાદ આપે તે તે પંતચાતના મુનેગાર શાએ."

It is recorded that within a short time death took the young couple in its embrace at an interval of a few days; but so rigid was the bandobust of the Panchayet then that no nascesalars were made available to consign the innocent corpses to their last resting place although no trace of any religious principles was involved in this controversy. The poor relatives, however, had themselves to carry the bodies to the Towers of Silence grounds but so intense was the feeling against the parties that it is said that they were not allowed to be consigned to the Towers and were deposited on the open hill. It was Goldsmith who wrote that: "The work of eradicating crimes is not by making punishment familiar but formidable", and this was a glaring example of that dictum.

This alleged high-handed usurpation of communal authority was brought to the notice of Government which appointed a Committee which in its Report dated 1st May, 1786 stated that "to prevent future disputes and preserve peace and good order among the Parsees", the Powers of the Panchayet "seeming to be rather assumed than conferred...should be defined and ascertained and derived immediately from Government."

On 16th December, 1830 Andhyaru (Sardar) Pestonjee Sorabjee (1790-1861) of Poona, the founder of the Padamjee family, resumed his application to the Panchayet for permission to his son to marry a behedin's daughter adding that "અમારા ખાનદાનથી એ રીતે કરતા આવેઆ છેએ." Framjee Cowasjee was of opinion that since in the past the Panchayet had itself broken its own bandobust by its laissez faire policy, it could not in the present instance withhold the permission asked for. Hormazd Dorab (1764-1842), a well-known merchant, advocated one law for all... 'એકને રુબ આપની ને ખીજાને નઇ આપની ને વર્લી કામ બંધ રાખવું તે મુનાશીય નથી."

At last it was decided that mobeds should be allowed to give their daughters in marriage to behedins. As for those members of the priestly class who wished their sons to marry behedin girls, permission was granted provided they gave a like number of their girls to behedins.

#### BIGAMOUS MARRIAGES

We have seen above that in 1791 the existing matrimonial law, which had then begun to lose some of its edge, was sharpened anew by the formation of some regulations. The object was to discourage the practice of bigamy which had taken its hold on the community and the Panchayet undertook the onus of examining all petitions for second marriages individually, and to grant permission in legitimate cases

One of such instances decided was that of a Parsee servant of General Macleod who had committed bigamy at Palad without the sanction of the Samast Anjuman which resolved on 20th December, 1792 that 'તે એક્તનું કાજ લાજે ને તે એક્ત પોતાને ગર જાઇ ખેસે ને હવે પછી એ એક્ત તા. એ મરદ શાર્થ લેવાં દેવાં નઈ…… તથા જે નવી આકતનું કાજ લાજેઉ તેનાં હાતનાં ચીતર આજનાઆજ પંતચાતનાં આદમી જાઇને ભાંજે."

In the same year permission was granted to Cursetjee Manekjee ("Gou પારસી') (1763-1845) for a bigamous marriage on the ground that he had no children by his first wife. Cursetjee had five issues by his second wife, four sons and one daughter. The most redeeming feature of the second marriage was that the children were all well looked after by the step-mother who lived very amicably under the same roof. In the words of Schiller—"In obeying nature she best served the purpose of Heaven."

In 1803 a Parsee went to war (2nd Mahratta?) and his whereabouts were not known for eight long years. The young wife's fancy then lightly turned to thoughts of love and she craved consent of the Panchayet to marry again. It was granted on the supposition "ক বৈ ভাঙা ৰঙাওমা একবা উ."

In February, 1811, the Samast Anjuman was approached by a Parsee whose matrimonial venture had not been very felicitous. He petitioned that he should be released from his marriage vows for the reason of his wife having been somewhat dotty "sal condition." The request was granted on condition that he should give her Rs. 200/ cash down and in addition provide her with clothes every year. On these terms the wife readily signed the release.

We notice from all the above instances that permission for a bigamous marriage always ran parallel with due maintenance for the first wife who was not suffered to be thrown on the mercy of her relatives or neighbours. In 1812, a Parsee who had married in the lifetime of his wife without the consent of the Panchayet, had to give a legal bond to his first wife "अन्त्रभाना शरहारीना इद्धारी" by which she received from him an annuity of Rs. 90 plus a sum of Rs. 336, cash down, calculated at the rate of Rs, 4 per month for the previous seven years (1804 to 1811) during which period he had not been maintaining her. It was also stipulated that the husband should give Rs. 501 to her executors and assigns on her death for funeral expenses.

On 4th March, 1818 a new Panchayet was constituted with 18 members and on its coming into power it re-iterated the then existing Regulations and asserted that no Parsee should marry again while his wife was still alive but that the Panchayet should be first consulted if he contemplated any such matrimonial alliance and that the final decision should lie with that body.

Another such case of repentance occurred in 1830, ... that of one Muncherjee Edaljee who had laid siege to the heart of a young woman in 1824 and had married her while his "જીની માહારદાર" was still alive. The penalty inflicted on him had been excommunication and during the preceding six years intense hardship had been the interest he had to pay for having borrowed this matrimonial trouble. He approached the Sethias in a penitent mood and with deep contrition asked for forgiveness. Reading between the lines of his petition we can detect in every word of his prayer the misery ruling in his heart. His breast could not restrain its emotions. This is how he manifested his fervent prayer: "भारां હાડતે થેકાતે કરાવા તે દખમાંમા મુકા જે તમા કેઓ તે પરમાતે હમાએ ક્યુલ કર્ચ તે મને રજા આપા. એ જાંહાંનમાં તમા સાહેખા મને માક કરશા તા પેલી જાંહાંન ખાદાખી માકુ કરશે…હંમાળી ગુજરેઆ પછી તમારા હકમાં દુઆ માંગશ…તમા શાહેળા ગાઆ મહેર દાવર છે৷ તેથી રાસતી વાતે લાંબા વિચાર કરીને મારાે ચુંના બખશવાે…ગુજરતા વખતેખી તમાને તશદી આપીને માંક માંગું છેઉ તે પરથી વિચાર કરજો જે આંનજીમનનાં પાંઉ પર મારૂ માંથુ મુકીને માંક માંચ છેઉ."

Cursetjee Manekjee believing in the purifying power of penience, accepted the apology tendered so humbly and sincerely

remarking: "કાેન જાને કાલ કેવી છે…હંમે હમારી તરફથી એ ગરીખની હઇઆતીમા તકસીર માંક કીધી છે."

The wives of vagabond Parsees were invariably given permission to re-marry. Moreover, in 1830 in the case of a husband who usually moved about with juddins without any symbol of religion on his person, the Panchayet decided that "હેને કેઠે ગમયા— રમા તથા આદરીઆંનમા કેઠે ઉભા નહી રાખે ને મરે તારે દખમામા નહી નાંખે."

Panchayet's Authority Over Social & Religious Matters

The Parsee Panchayet of Bombay was held in the highest respect and veneration not only by the Parsees of Bombay but also by those of other cities as well and in all undertakings its co-operation and guidance were of the highest importance and eagerly sought for. The Bombay body was the guide-post and landmark in the community, the fountain-head from which all regulations, social as well as religious, emanated.

When Sorabjee Rattonjee Patel (1783-1852) was contemplating to build a Tower of Silence at Poona in 1824, he asked permission of the Panchayet which was granted by the Samast Anjuman and some more instructions were given "के मुंभोधनी पंनवातनं शहेशोतों छे ते परमाणे डाम डरावको तथा तमारी तरहने। के डांध मांभेह ता. भेदीन ढांबे तेनानेभी डेको के मुंभधना पनवातना शरेशता परमाणे बांबे" viz.,

- (1) Not to commit bigamy without the permission of the Bombay Panchayet,
- (2) Not to invest children of Parsee fathers and alien mothers with Sudra and Kusti, and
- (3) Not to eat meat on પહુમન, માહાર, ગાય and રામ days.

The Panchayet was particular that the members of the Anjuman should scrupulously honour the tenets of their religion or oldestablished customs and from time to time made bandobusts subject to the sanction of the Samast Anjuman. One such was made on 31st May, 1796 that no meat should be partaken on the four days of the sanction instrument above, the penalty for infringement being:

(1) In the case of behedins "ગુંનેગારી દોતી ૧ લીએ ને પછે તે શખશને નાેેેે નાહન) નવાદે," (2) In the case of mobed ''વરશ ૧ શુધી પનથકી ચાકરી રાખે નઇ ને વળા ખેહેદીન લાેક તે માખેદને ખારણે ચડાવેનઇ ને કશી આશાદાદ આપે નઇ."

In the same year (1796) it was decided that no meat dinners should be served on marriages and other festivals "કાએજે એવા રહે! દાડા એટલા જવ મારવાં ગટાર નથા"—"it was not humane that one should slaughter poor dumb animals on such auspicious occasions. The penalty was that no mobed should perform the આશરવાદ ceremony at the house of the host who infringed the law and that no guests should attend such festive dinners.

It may be mentioned here that upto the beginning of this century the bandobust of 1796 remained in force and on marriage, navjot and other like occasions only vegetarian dinners were served. Meat was only introduced about four decades ago.

About fifty years later (1842) it having come to the knowledge of Wadia Nowrojee that a couple of Parsees had invited guests to a non-vegetarian feast on a hamkara day, he reported that "ગીઆ ગાસ રાજનાં હમકારાને દાદે હમાએ શાપુરદારૂને માકલીને તે લોકાને અટકાવ કરાવેઓ હતા જે ગાશનું ખાવાનું ખંધ કરીને પરેજ ખાવાનું કરા."

Viewed from the standpoint of present-day reformed and enlightened ideas this was nothing short of encroachment on personal liberty, but the times then were different and our ancestors were very conservative. However, whether the punishments were mild or exemplary, the actions of the legislators must be measured by the depth of the sentiment which prompted them to do so. If they were unnecessarily harsh their feelings leaned on the side of virtue.

We read in the Panchayet Circular dated 29th June, 1857, that Jal Sorab Jabuli, an Irani, and his daughter Jerbanu were precluded from attending places of worship for having in Thana partaken of food prepared by a Mahomedan cook. Two members of the Panchayet noted their dissent stating "જેવા એના ઇનશાફ કરાય તેવા ખીજાના કરવા જોઇએ."

The influence that the Parsees wielded in the beginning of the 19th century and the readiness with which the Government used to accede to their religious susceptibilties can be well gauged by the following incident. Mody Jamsetjee Bogabhoy petitioned to the authorities on 11th June, 1802, to issue the necessary order to "the smiths, silversmiths, coppersmiths, sweetmeat-makers, Bhuttariahs, etc. not to work that day (14th June) by fire, both day and night" ... as it was the ries to rie, the latter element should not be subjected to any harsh treatment. The Government granted the request and the workmen concerned kept their shops closed.

# CHARITABLE BEQUESTS.

The practice of giving money for charitable purposes on conspicuous occurrences was in vogue from the earliest times. For instance, in the first year after the reconstitution of the Panchayet in 1823, it received the sum of Rs. 1042 and the Panchayet recorded that "હવે એ રપીઆના જે શારા ધરમ થાશે તેનાં સવાયના હમયેરા રપીઆનાં આપનારાઓને તથા તેહનાંનાં છોકરાં પર ણેઆ તેહનાંનાં ક્રજંનદાનાં કરજંદ સુધી હાશેલ થાશે તે શત જાંણજો"

These moneys were expended for the relief of destitute Parsees. For instance on 27th February, 1826, the Panchayet issued a statement that the funeral expenses as well as those in connection with the Giney, Pair, say and millar of all Parsees would be paid from its funds to the extent of Rs. 30. Even if a death occurred outside Bombay of a Parsee leaving no near relatives, the Panchayet extended the same hand of charity. Thus when Burjorjee Framjee Khan died at Bangalore in 1835 his "G. d. (Giney) at at at any at a the instance of the Panchayet.

# PARSEE PANCHAYET A PATRIARCHAL BODY.

As for complaints, criminal or civil, the Panchayet always dissuaded litigants from going to the law court and advised them that if reconciliation was absolutely out of the question, to wash their dirty linen only within its four walls. Its policy was to summon the parties, work upon them with advice and caution and try to settle their disputes amicably. On 31st May, 1796, the Samast Anjuman decided that if any dispute arose between mobeds and panthakis, neither should the former sue the latter nor vice versa in the Mayor's Court, but that such disputes should be referred to the Anjuman for decision.

We obtain convincing proofs from some of the episodes above quoted that peace, religiosity, benevolence, uprightness, discipline, impartiality,—these were some of the qualities of which the members of the Panchayet were admirable exponents.

They had a genuine regard for their community and its members. They laboured for them whole-heartedly and have left foot-prints on the sands of the last two centuries not by sitting with folded hands but by being up and doing for the betterment of their lot. The greatest service that they rendered to their co-religionists was that they converted them to true Zoroastrianism as we have already seen and shall presently see in a few more instances.

On 31st May, 1796 the Samast Anjuman resolved that Mobed Kersasjee Hormasjee having continued to perform religious ceremonies in spite of his having broken his ભરશનુમ he be ostracised for one year: "તેને કાઇ પનથકી કામ શાફે નઇ. ખેહદીન લાક કાઇ એ મામે દને ખારણે ચડાવે નઇ ને આશાદાદ પણ નઇ આપે"

The lines of the poet may, with a slight variation, be applied to the Parsee Anjuman:

"They are not always angry when they strike,

But most they chastised them whom most they like, in the same manner as the mother who spares not the rod for the improvement of her favourite child.

#### Some Priestly Regulations.

It appears that in the early years of the 19th century there occurred many a wrangle as regards precedence amongst the heads of the priestly class on such solemn occasions as marriages or funerals, and decorum and dignity were entirely forgotten. 'એક એક શાર્ચ મીનાકેશા યાએ છે તે પાતાનાં ખાપની તથા વડા ભાઇની આગલ આગલ, જાઇને ખેશ છે તે ઘણું નામુનાશેખ છે." The Panchayet intervened to preserve sacerdotal dignity and the following arrangement was arrived at on 18th October, 1823:

- (1) The first seat to be occupied by Dastur Kharsetjee Jamsetjee Jamaspasana (1746-1829)
- (2) The second by Dastur Mulla Pheroze bin Mulla Kaus (1758-1830)

- (3) The third by Dastur Edaljee Dorabjee Sanjana (1776-1847)
- (4) The fourth by the head of the Dastur Meherjee Rana (1536-1591) family.

This precedence controversy amongst the Dasturs has survived upto the present day and the question of priority has not been definitely settled.

Formerly when death occurred in a family, any mobed was entitled to attend the funeral ceremony and receive which, a practice which acted as a sort of burden on the relatives of the deceased. Also many a time it happened that there was unseemly bickering on the question of gratuity, not only unsuited to the dignity of a priest but calculated to mar the solemnity of the occasion. It was, therefore, resolved in 1823 that a register be kept at all Agiaris and at the Panchayet office, of all qualified mobeds and only those invited should attend such functions.

As mentioned above the grievances of Parsee residents of towns outside Bombay also engaged the attention of the Panchayet. In 1824 when complaints were raised from Kalyan that the panthaki of that place was very exacting and greedy of money—"કલ્યાણીની પંચાએત જાણે ત્યાંનાં પંચકીને તામે છે," Cursetjee Maneckjee on behalf of the Panchayet wrote a letter to the Kalyan Anjuman stating: "એ વાતની તમારી અનજીમનને શરમ છે."

About the same time (1824) the indecorous behaviour of Dastur Maneckjee of Kalyan came to the notice of the Panchayet. Forgetting the respect due to his position, he had attended a nautch party for which he was severely reprehended: "તમા દસત્ર થઇ તમૃતે ઓરદીનવાલાને તાં જઇને બેશવું શજાવાર નથી" and was debarred from functioning for six months.

## MURDERERS CONDEMNED TO DEATH.

In 1827 three Parsees were sentenced to capital punishment in Gujarat. According to the ideas then prevailing, to have them executed by alien hands would have been against the tenets of the Zoroastrian religion. The authorities were, therefore, persuaded through the intervention of Mody Rustomjee Kharsedjee (1802-1894) of Surat to have them hanged by a member of their own caste. Similarly, in Bombay, Barjorjee Jamsetjee (21831 918)

was hanged for murder on 5th August, 1844, by a Parsee. In 1829, when one Sorab Pohcha was about to pay the extreme penalty of the law for murder at Broach, the Government was approached to employ Parsee hands to launch the murderer into eternity and also not to allow the dead body to be touched by juddins. We believe this request was also granted although the records do not clarify the same.

As for the latter's child the Surat Sethias recommended that the loss of the protection of a parent should be recompensed by the tenderness of his fellowmen. It should not be reared in the darkness of its father's example of vice but be placed under strict guardianship and reclaimed from neglect and hunger: "એ પારશીનું કરજંદ છે ને હેનાં વ્યદ દાનાને લીધે નરસ કાંમ શુજ પડેઉ તેની સજાને પંન પાહતા હવે તેની મીતી રજલે નહી તે કરવું. એ વાતની આપંનની કરજ છે…એ ચઆથી માહતો શવાવનો હંમળેરા થાશે…"

A like appeal was made in 1847 by some Sholapore residents on behalf of six orphan children of a deceased Parsee, whom they dispatched to Bombay "તમા મુરખીછાઓની કદમ આગલ" with the request that "તમા શખી તખેના ખાવ દોનાં ખાશ ખજાણાથી ઘણાએક ગરીબ ખેવારશીએ પરવરશ થાએ છે તેહમા એખી બચાંવાની પરવશતી થાશે."

The Panchayet's replies to the last two appeals from Surat and Sholapore are not recorded but we might safely presume, with our knowledge of its benevolent mentality, that they were favourably considered and the poor children taken under its protection and guardianship.

To relieve the wretched and the innocent was the special pride of our forefathers. They took keen interest in the welfare of orphaned children and left them only when females got married and males put on their legs.

# IRRELIGIOUS BOOKS BANNED.

bhoy Dadabhoy (1786-1849) nipped the labours of the author in the bud by inducing him to cease publication by receiving half the cost already incurred. Moreover, in consideration of his remaining loss he was promised patronage when in future he published his second venture provided it was not repugnant to public taste, morality and religion.

#### CONCLUSION.

We have tried to give the reader a faint idea of the communal organisation and discipline among the Parsee community from about the middle of the 18th to about the middle of the 19th century. The Sethias of those days, as we have seen, were the guides, philosophers and friends of the masses in whose hearts they had earned an abiding place. They were a band of sincere and honest workers, the interests of the Anjuman were their interests, the spiritual and moral salvation of their hamdin their only aim. In domestic differences they tried to carry smiles and sunshine into every home when trouble and discontent sat heavy at the heart of the inmates. They inculcated chastity among the female folk and taught them that virtue was the power of their beauty and the pride of their community. They were the universal friends of the distressed and oppressed and always strove to level the ditches for the helpless ones on their way to the battle-field of life to enable them to drag the heavy artillery along the rugged road. In fact every year of their life was an inspiring chapter of services rendered to the community at large.

True, at times, the penalties they inflicted were rather harsh, almost cruel, but occasions sometimes demand in the interests of the masses themselves that one must be cruel only to be kind. An archer is known by his aim and not by his arrow.

The akabars' love for their EN and their religion amounted to a passion and permeated every atom of their being; they lived, not spent, their busy lives in the well-being of the poor without any ambition for title and rank, but hoped, when their days were over, to leave to posterity the treasure of some abiding benefit rendered to the community and the memory of a good and an homest name.

In the members of the Panchayet were vested diverse powers for rendering services to their co-religionists but these powers declined with the death of Wadia Hormasjee Bomonjee in 1826 after which date their strength and authority gradually broke down due to the irregularities of some of the members; and with the passing of such outstanding personalities as Jejeebhoy Dadabhoy in 1849, Framjee Cowasjee in 1851, Wadia Nowrojee in 1857 and Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy (1783-1859) in 1859 in the plenitude of active service, the board became inane and lethargic. After the passing of the Parsee Marriage and Divorce Act in 1865, the Panchayet ceased to legislate and act in private domestic affairs. Anjuman meetings were thereafter convened for matters of grave concern to the community and occasionally for recording the deaths of notable personages or for offering public prayers, condolences and thanksgivings for events melancholy or jubilant.

The Sethias whose names we have just mentioned, were the leaders who laid the foundation of the future greatness of the community and their remembrance ought to be in the heart of every true Parsee. If the reader could afford time to glance over the records of the Parsee Panchayet, some of which are still preserved in its office, Dr. Sir Jivanji Mody's History of the Parsee Panchayet, the Parsee Prakash, and the publications of K.R. Cama and Fredoon Dadachanjee, he will get a vivid idea of the exalted character which the akabars of old manifested. When we notice to-day the rapid revolution of the wheels of reform, the march of time with its swift gigantic strides, and also the so-called progress of society on one hand and the decline of character on the other, we cannot but recall to memory the giants of those good old days and exclaim with Tennyson:

But O for the touch of a vanish'd hand And the sound of a voice that is still!

